FBIS DAILY REPORT

# CONTENTS

*Eastern Europe*

*Vol II No 153* *6 August 1980*

CSCE/MBFR/DISARMAMENT

Romanian Statement-Appeal to Governments on CSCE Anniversary [SCINTEIA 2 Aug] BB 1
Polish Minister Wojtaszek Views Significance of CSCE [TRYBUNA LUDU 1 Aug] BB 5
CSSR Deputy Foreign Minister Jablonsky Views Madrid CSCE [MLADA FRONTA 30 Jul] BB 7
NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Comments on Fifth CSCE Anniversary [1 Aug] BB 9
Yugoslav Paper Comments on CSCE Anniversary [Teslic in Belgrade BORBA 1 Aug] BB 10
Bratislava PRAVDA Editorial on Helsinki, Madrid, CSCE [1 Aug] BB 12
Budapest Paper Calls for Progress in Madrid [NEPSZABADSAG 1 Aug] BB 14
Prague RUDE PRAVO Views Helsinki CSCE Results [1 Aug] BB 15
HORIZONT: East Prepared for 'Far-Reaching Concessions' at MBFR [No. 31] BB 16

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Departs for USSR on 'Short Visit' C 1
Todorov Receives Iraqi Minister; Protocol Signed [Baghdad] C 1
Cooperation Protocol C 1
Afghan Journalists Graduate From Sofia Institute C 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Carter Statement on U.S. Human Rights Termed 'Hypocrisy' [Krejci in RUDE PRAVO 1 Aug] D 1
U.S., Beijing 'Fight' Against 'Progressive' Regimes Examined [Faix] D 1
Western Journalist Olympic Reports Described as 'Fabrications' [Krsak in Bratislava PRAVDA 1 Aug] D 3
CPSL Official Urges Greater Receptiveness to Criticism [Boda in Bratislava PRAVDA 30 Jul] D 4
Lenart, Jakes End Visit to East Slovakia D 7

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Leuschner Scores Western Olympic, Arms Reports E 1
Sindermann Calls for More East-West Parliamentarian Contact [DPA] E 3
Talks End With Grenada Delegation; Protocol Signed [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2-3 Aug] E 3
Cuban Vice Foreign Minister Received in Berlin [Havana] E 3
'Arafat Telegram Praises Solidarity With PLO E 4
SED Delegation Concludes Visit to Zambia [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 4 Aug] E 4
FRG Citizen Arrested for Transit Abuse [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2-3 Aug] E 4
FRG Citizen Arrested for Border Violation [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2-3 Aug] E 4
Briefs: FDJ Brigade Back From Angola; Potato Harvest Report E 4

POLAND

Improvement in Flood Situation Reported G 1
Politburo Issues Instruction on Food Supplies G 1
Jagielski, Commission Members Reported in Lublin [SZTANDAR LUDU 23 Jul] G 1
Jagielski Receives Grenada Deputy Prime Minister G 1

Ports of Gdansk, Gdynia Reported 'Very Busy' G 2
Local Party Organizations Discuss Economic Issues G 2
Writers' Complaints About Censorship Reported [Paris LE FIGARO 4 Aug] G 2
Dissident Kuron Interviewed on Strikes, KOR [Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 4 Aug] G 3
ZYCIE WARSZAWY Notes Corrupt Deals With Western Firms G 7

ROMANIA

LUMEA Examines Recent National Agreements With EEC [Serbanescu, No 31] H 1
Ceausescu Reports on Paris Trip to Party Committee H 3

YUGOSLAVIA

NIN Rebuts Cuban Weekly's Claims on SFRY Workers, Cuban Refugees [No 1544 3 Aug] I 1
BORBA: BTA Negates Macedonian Character of Ilinden Uprising [3 Aug] I 2
Airline Resumes Flights to Tirana 1 Aug [BORBA 1 Aug] I 2
DPRK's Ho Tam To Arrive 7 Aug for Talks, Vacation I 2
Mijatovic Receives New Ambassador to Ecuador I 3
Mijatovic Congratulates President of Vanuatu [BORBA 31 Jul] I 3
Veselinov Reviews Measures Taken To Alleviate Supply Shortages I 3
Briefs: Kosovo Cooperation With Libya; Envoy Meets Algerian Premier I 4

ROMANIAN STATEMENT-APPEAL TO GOVERNMENTS ON CSCE ANNIVERSARY

AU042041 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Aug 80 pp 1, 3

[Statement-Appeal of the Grand National Assembly, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania to All Parliaments, Supreme Bodies and Heads of State, to Governments and Heads of Governments, to All Peoples of Countries That Participated in the Helsinki All-European Conference"]

[Text] Some 5 years have elapsed since the all-European conference--an event of historic significance for our continent--which for the first time established, at the level of heads of state and governments, the basic goals of building security and peace in Europe and creating a new climate of trust, friendship and peace among all the continent's nations.

This anniversary takes place under conditions of a particularly serious aggravation of international life in the first part of this year, as a result of the continuation of the old imperialist policy of domination and interference in domestic affairs of other states, and as an outcome of sharpening contradictions between certain states and groups of states and of the deepening world economic crisis.

The Helsinki conference and the Final Act signed by representatives of the 35 participating states opened up new prospects for relations among European states, and raised the peoples' hope of inaugurating a new era in the continent's life. However, the later evolution of the situation on the continent did not correspond to those expectations and hopes, and the results attained were far from satisfactory. This was because there was no firm, energetic and persevering action by all states to implement the Helsinki agreements. Some thought that the mere signing of the documents could resolve the problems. A state of expectancy and passivity has become apparent, which has prevented the mobilization of forces to take concrete action to implement the adopted decisions. The most serious fact is that in the past 5 years, the arms race has not only not diminished but has actually taken an increasingly upward course, leading to an unprecedented accumulation of an arsenal of super-improved weapons in Europe, including nuclear ones, which poses great dangers for the peace and security of peoples.

Under these conditions, it is the imperative and most responsible duty of all peoples, governments, parliaments, heads of states and democratic and progressive forces on our continent to unite and act energetically to halt this dangerous evolution of the situation in Europe, and to proceed to firmly implement the goals and provisions established in Helsinki.

Mobilizing all its forces along the road of socioeconomic progress and building a new life, the Romanian people and our state and government have carried out persevering activity in the last 5 years, in full accordance with the Helsinki agreements, to contribute to building security on the European Continent.

The Grand National Assembly [GNA], the State Council and the government highly assess the vast and intensive activity carried out by the RCP and our state for the cause of European security, as well as the contribution made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania--a contribution unanimously appreciated by the Romanian people and at the international level--to efforts to establish a new policy in Europe and the world. [paragraph continues]

This new policy is one of equality of rights among states, respect for the independence of all nations, cooperation, trust and peace among all peoples. We have developed broad relations of friendship and cooperation with all states in Europe and have firmly promoted the principles of equality and respect for the national independence of each people, by unswervingly militating to broadly introduce these principles into the political life of Europe and the world. Romania has presented many proposals designed to break the deadlock in certain key issues of security, stimulate all-European cooperation and attain the goals upon which peace for all our peoples depends.

Now, on the 5th anniversary of the all-European conference in Helsinki, the GNA, the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania address a passionate appeal to all parliaments, supreme bodies and heads of state, to governments and heads of governments of countries that participated in that conference, to mobilize all forces to attain the vital aspirations of our continent's peoples to live in good understanding, cooperation and peace, in a world based on full equality and on unflinching respect for the freedom and independence of all nations. Let us do everything possible to resolve the complex problems facing mankind today, to diminish international tension, to firmly continue the policy of detente, to attain overall disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, to politically resolve all conflicts between states through negotiations, to establish a new economic order and to build a better and more just world on our planet. Let us ensure, through joint efforts, a united Europe, above differences of social system, by attaching primary importance to common supreme interests, the cause of progress, well-being, security and peace for all European nations. Let us spare no effort to guarantee the basic rights of peoples, the rights to life and peace, which is the foundation of all other achievements of peoples and of the continuous flourishing of human civilization in Europe and throughout the world.

Let us immediately proceed, through close cooperation, to thoroughly prepare the forthcoming Madrid meeting so that it can give new and powerful impetus to implementing the documents signed 5 years ago.

In the spirit of the Helsinki understandings, let us act to intensify economic cooperation and collaboration, by eliminating any kind of artificial barriers and restrictions, and to proceed to jointly resolve key questions of the continent's socioeconomic development.

At the same time, let us broadly develop cooperation in scientific research and modern technology and let us expand cultural exchanges and contacts among people, thus ensuring more profound mutual understanding between our peoples and their material and intellectual creation thereby strengthening trust and friendship among nations.

The GNA, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania call upon European states to give priority to efforts to further specific measures for the continent's military disengagement and disarmament, without which one cannot conceive of trust, peace and security both in Europe and throughout the world. Let us never forget that two devastating wars broke out this century from our continent, wars that involved all peoples in the world! Today, the two opposed military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, are facing each other in Europe. That is why the vital and highest interests of the European peoples require that one should immediately proceed to freeze military budgets and then to their continuous reduction; withdraw all foreign troops from territories of other states; eliminate foreign military bases; and substantially reduce military troops and armaments. [paragraph continues]

Reaching an agreement on starting negotiations on the renunciation by both sides, of deploying and developing new missiles on our continent would be of particular significance. Let us never forget that the presence of nuclear weapons is a serious danger for all the continent's peoples, regardless of whether they are in the north, south, east or west. Weapons do not choose their victims, nobody can escape their destructive effect; there is no weapon capable of defending people's lives, weapons only destroy lives. The cause of European security also requires that firm action be taken to restrict the activity of the two military blocs and abolish them simultaneously and to put an end to any displays of military power capable of intimidating peoples and exerting pressure upon them. Let us ensure that the great achievements of human genius, modern science and technology and contemporary civilization are no longer used to manufacture weapons, to spread destruction and to jeopardize the existence of the human species, but only to serve the peoples, the well-being and happiness of people and their right to life and peace.

The GNA, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania call upon parliaments, governments, peoples, politicians and advanced forces of the entire continent to militate energetically and consistently to unflinchingly promote in international relations the principles of full equality of rights and respect for each people's national independence and sovereignty. Today, the decisive factor on which the attainment of real security, the fruitful development of cooperation and the establishment of peace in Europe and throughout the continent depend is observance of the sacred right of each people to free and independent development and the right to independently choose its political system and its socioeconomic development path, without any foreign interference. The supreme requirement of our era, which is decisive for freeing mankind from the nightmare of a new war, is the complete renunciation of the use and threat of force; let us act to ensure that any contentious problems and any differences between countries be resolved through peaceful and political means alone, through negotiations between interested sides, in the spirit of mutual understanding and respect and of defending the basic interests of peoples. Only by acting in such a way will we be able to establish a really new climate of trust, detente, understanding and cooperation in Europe, a climate which can make each nation feel sheltered from any danger of aggression and foreign interference and can give each nation the opportunity of concentrating its material and human resources along the road of progress, civilization, well-being and peace.

The GNA, the State Council and the government of our country again make the following proposals to European peoples and countries:

In view of the tense international situation and the particular significance of the Madrid meeting for stimulating the process of detente and security on our continent, this meeting should be held at the level of foreign ministers in order to thus increase the efficiency of discussions and the degree of commitment and responsibility in adopting the necessary measures.

The Madrid meeting should decide the convening of a conference devoted to European disarmament, which should establish specific measures to halt the arms race and diminish the existing military potential on the continent.

One should ensure the continuous cooperation of our countries to solve concretely the problems of security, by organizing to this end periodic working meetings, groups of experts and other forms of negotiating these problems.

Romania deems it necessary that the next all-European conference be held at the level of heads of state and government. By drawing a balance sheet of activities carried out in the light of the Helsinki document and taking into account the changes that have occurred in the political life of the continent and the entire world as well as urgent current requirements, this conference should make appropriate amendments to the 1975 documents, enriching them with new provisions and measures designed to open up truly viable prospects for building security in Europe.

Romania also believes that the conclusion of a general treaty on renouncing force and the threat of force would be very important; it would make a key contribution to the cause of detente, trust and security in Europe and to strengthening overall peace.

The GNA, the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania propose that 1 August be celebrated yearly as the day of solidarity and struggle of all European peoples to build security and peace on our continent.

The positive development of the Madrid meeting and the attainment of new concrete progress along the road of building security in Europe will favorably influence the process of detente and peace throughout the world. It would greatly increase the contribution of our continent's states, in close cooperation with all countries in the world, to solving urgent contemporary problems, halting the arms race, proceeding to the attainment of disarmament--primarily nuclear disarmament--establishing a new economic order and building a world of peace, understanding and cooperation among nations.

The Madrid meeting is called upon to powerfully reiterate solemn attachment to the documents signed in Helsinki and firm determination to implement the Final Act of the all-European conference as a single entity.

We are convinced that the attainment of security, the high requirement of our peoples, would serve not only Europe, but would also have a profound positive impact upon the entire world climate, thus contributing to diminishing tension, firmly continuing the process of detente and promoting the cause of strengthening international peace.

The GNA, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania assure the parliaments, governments and peoples of Europe and all forces struggling for the lofty cause of peace and progress, that our country will continue to do its utmost to firmly implement the Helsinki Final Act as a single entity, to ensure the success of the forthcoming Madrid meeting and to resolve the complex problems on which the establishment of a new climate of lasting peace and cooperation in Europe depend.

We solemnly appeal to all peoples and public opinion on the continent to spare no effort in giving impetus to the process of detente and peace, in building security, strengthening comprehensive cooperation among all nations of the world, regardless of their size or social system--on the basis of unflinching respect for each people's freedom and national independence and each nation's right to independent development, in accordance with its desire and aspiration--and to build a united, prosperous and peaceful Europe.

POLISH MINISTER WOJTASZEK VIEWS SIGNIFICANCE OF CSCE

AU041615 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Aug 80 pp 1, 6

[Statement to TRYBUNA LUDU by Minister of Foreign Affairs Emil Wojtaszek: "The Fifth Anniversary of the CSCE Final Act--Event of Highest Significance"--date and place not given; capitalized passages printed in boldface]

[Text] IN CONNECTION WITH THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HELSINKI SIGNING OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT, THE TRYBUNA LUDU EDITORIAL BOARD ASKED EMIL WOJTASZEK, PZPR POLITBURO CANDIDATE MEMBER AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO EVALUATE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CSCE AND OF THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTING THE FINAL ACT DECISIONS. WE PUBLISH HIS STATEMENT BELOW:

The historical significance of the Helsinki conference is obvious for us, the Polish people, E. Wojtaszek said. As Comrade Edward Gierek said at the eighth party congress, the conference was "an event of the highest importance in Europe's postwar history." The years that have passed since the signing of the great charter of peace have confirmed that evaluation.

In Helsinki in 1975 we evaluated the achievements of East-West detente based on the tenets of European peace as defined by the Potsdam Conference 30 years earlier. We worked out a declaration of principles on how the European states, the United States and Canada should conduct themselves in their mutual relations. We worked out a long-term "three-basket" program for cooperation of the aforementioned states: cooperation in political and economic affairs and in the protection of the environment; in the field of culture, science and education; and in humanitarian affairs. We ensured the permanent forms of continuing the general European dialogue. The worth of the Helsinki decisions is demonstrated by the fact that the conference worked out the principles of relations and cooperation that Comrade Leonid Brezhnev defined in a PRAVDA interview of 2 days ago as instruments "to facilitate the transition of civilization to a new, higher level of international relations."

Europe has been a site of many conferences and congresses. However, the Helsinki conference was the first at which representatives of all European states, the United States and Canada were able to participate at the highest level and on the principle of equality and mutual respect. Everyone was able to contribute to the common achievement--the CSCE Final Act. The fact that countries with different sociopolitical systems--socialist and capitalist countries--took their places at the same table is of crucial significance. This is why we can boldly state that in Helsinki we worked out the foundations for peaceful coexistence in Europe among states with different systems.

I WOULD LIKE NOW TO RECALL POLAND'S PARTICIPATION IN THAT COMMON, ALL-EUROPEAN ACHIEVEMENT. FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF PEOPLE'S POLAND OUR FOREIGN POLICY SOUGHT TO IMPLEMENT THE IDEA OF A LASTING EUROPEAN PEACE IN THE FORM OF A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM. FOR THAT REASON WE PROPOSED IN 1964 THAT ALL EUROPEAN STATES, THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA SHOULD HOLD A MEETING. IT TOOK US 11 YEARS TO IMPLEMENT THAT PROPOSAL. WE PARTICIPATED IN THE WORK INVOLVED IN ITS IMPLEMENTATION, THUS CONTRIBUTING TO THE NORMALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE FRG AND MAKING A SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTION TO FORMULATING THE CSCE FINAL ACT.

What are the fruits of the Final Act? The trend toward dialogue and toward promoting cooperation has gathered strength. Medium and small states now have greater opportunities to influence the international situation and to develop what is now called "European order," that is, peaceful coexistence in Europe. [paragraph continues]

The multilateral reaffirmation of postwar political-territorial solutions has helped increase Europe's stability. Economic, cultural and scientific cooperation has expanded to a degree that was out of the question as recently as the end of the fifties. It is true that the situation had continued to improve only gradually, but within a few years the citizens and peoples of the European countries became aware of the improvement. It goes without saying that we have not been able to eradicate all the bad things that accumulated in the course of history, especially during the "cold war." In particular, we have not been able to halt the arms race, to which we have now to devote greater attention, also within the framework of the CSCE. However, the general balance sheet is positive.

The value of the CSCE is being tested, especially now when East-West relations are beset with tension which threatens the policy of detente. We fully realize the existing dangers, but we are convinced that it is possible to reverse negative trends. We must not allow the valuable achievements of detente to go to seed. Warsaw has taken specific measures to facilitate the resumption of contacts and talks in order to counter the worsening of the international situation. The meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and French President V. Giscard d'Estaing in the presence of Edward Gierek in Wilanow last May was of particular importance. There has also been invigoration of East-West relations as attested to, among other things, by A. Gromyko's talk with E. Muskie in Vienna on the occasion of the celebrations to mark the anniversary of the Austrian State Treaty and by the Soviet leadership's talks with H. Schmidt. There have also been indications on resuming of negotiations on the subject of curbing missile weapons in Europe--a subject of crucial significance for Poland and Europe.

Aside from such contacts we also need intensive daily efforts to implement all the Helsinki decisions. This is the policy of Poland and other socialist states, which--in the Warsaw Pact states' declaration of 15 May 1980--voiced their support for the "absolute observance of all Final Act decisions."

In the same way that we were one of the most active states in preparing the CSCE, now we want to gain distinction in implementing the CSCE decisions. The highest party and state bodies have passed the necessary resolutions in this connection.

The ministries and central offices concerned have been committed to implementing the Final Act and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been charged with the role of coordinator. We have devised a government procedure for submitting reports on implementing the Final Act.

We attach particular importance to observing the declaration on the principles of international relations. We see to it that this matter has its proper place in our contacts with other countries and that it is expressed in joint declarations and communiques in which Poland participates.

Together with its Warsaw Pact allies Poland has put forward crucial proposals on halting the arms race, on disarmament and on intensifying detente. I have in mind, above all, the proposal that a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe should be convened in order to reinforce--in the military field--the process initiated in Helsinki. At a very difficult moment for the international situation Comrade Edward Gierek renewed that proposal during the eighth party congress and offered Warsaw as the site of the conference. Our allies supported the offer and other states responded to it with interest and positive attitudes.

As for the Final Act decisions and economic cooperation, aside from developing its trade Poland continues to promote this cooperation by facilitating the activities of foreign firms in our country, by promoting cooperation between small and medium domestic and foreign enterprises and by helping to expand the all-European energy cooperation, transportation infrastructure and cooperation in protecting the environment.

However, I would like to note that our endeavors do not always meet with the necessary good will on the part of our Western partners. Symptoms of discrimination in economic relations, which is contrary to the Final Act, continue to occur in the West.

We have also developed people-to-people relations and cooperation in media, culture and science. The exchanges of personnel between Poland and foreign countries increased many times over in the seventies.

On the basis of the CSCE principles we have not only intensified our cultural contacts, but also are making efforts--on the basis of the Final Act decisions--to improve the situation and to remove the unfavorable symptoms and the unjustified imbalances of the literary, theater and cinema exchanges. We seek to improve mutual information and to eradicate attempts to interfere in internal affairs--attempts that still continue in this field. We are active in promoting in Europe the recommendations of the UN declaration on educating societies in the spirit of peace.

The coming Madrid meeting will be an important opportunity to enliven the CSCE process. The meeting will take place in less than 3 months. We see in the West two trends: One seeks confrontation with the socialist countries and the other searches for ways of improving the international situation. Only if the second trend gains the upper hand will it be possible to ensure that the Madrid meeting will be successful, which is of such crucial importance for Europe and European nations.

We want to make a constructive contribution to that meeting and to concentrate on what links us and not on what divides us. We will seek to agree in Madrid on political measures concerning the military and political aspects of European security and concerning the development of cooperation in all fields. We are for an integral and considered approach to the security of all states in searching for new decisions. In particular, we would like the Madrid meeting to make a decision on convening the conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

The process of the CSCE, including the Madrid meeting, creates a real opportunity for returning to a situation dominated by factors of cooperation, not of confrontation. What we wish for is to strengthen the foundations of cooperation created in Helsinki. Poland will do its best to make an important contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and international security, to halt the arms race and to expand mutually advantageous and equal cooperation among nations.

CSSR DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER JABLONSKY VIEWS MADRID CSCE

AU0116Ø2 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 30 Jul 80 p 4

[Interview given to Milan Syrucek and Josef Vesely by Mecislav Jablonsky, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, for the column "More Than an Hour's Talk": "The Balance and Prospects of Helsinki"]

[Excerpt] Question: An important role is played by the mechanism used for ensuring the continuity of the Helsinki conference, the mechanism agreed on by the signatories. [paragraph continues]

In 1977 the Belgrade meeting was held and now the second follow-up meeting in Madrid is being prepared.

Answer: The first meeting in Belgrade confirmed the continuation of the Helsinki process; however, it did not succeed in adopting specific measures either for strengthening security or for deepening cooperation. Some of the participants, and particularly the head of the American delegation, did not come to Belgrade with the intention of strengthening this process but--on the contrary--with the intention of threatening it, of creating a confrontation. The European peoples expect the Madrid meeting to result in practical steps for strengthening peace and security and for consolidating cooperation.

Question: And what do governments expect?

Answer: Last year we pursued bilateral contacts with almost all signatory states (naturally, there also were multilateral negotiations with the fraternal socialist countries). Our partners also hold the opinion that the mistakes and shortcomings of the Belgrade meeting must not be repeated. The Madrid session must not be a place of confrontation or a tribunal that would like to hold a trial of somebody. But experience teaches us that in politics it is more suitable not to anticipate events by appraising them in advance. I would like to stress one thing: The political responsibility for the positive tenor of the meeting under preparation is not borne by the socialist states alone. That is why the other signatory states should approach its preparation as responsibly as we are approaching it.

Question: One of the key arrangements of Helsinki is the demand "...to complement political detente with a military detente...for the purpose of reducing military confrontation."

Answer: Only thus is it possible to make the process of detente a lasting one, an all-round and general one. We are glad that the initiative of the Warsaw Pact states to convene a European conference on questions of disarmament and military detente has met with a positive reaction. The Madrid meeting should discuss this initiative concretely. In the first phase one could discuss additional measures for strengthening trust among the states, and later the specific steps for halting and gradually reducing the level of military potentials on the European Continent. The aforementioned European conference should contribute toward alleviating the military confrontation; self-evidently, the prerequisite being that the other side--the NATO states--would also proceed, as the Warsaw Pact states are proceeding, from the principle of equal security and would not endeavor to acquire military supremacy. Of course, it would be most welcome were the United States and NATO countries to follow the example of the USSR, which is unilaterally withdrawing from central Europe 20,000 of its soldiers, 1,000 tanks and other military technology. General progress in the matter of military detente will establish prerequisites for subsequent concrete steps in other "baskets" of the Final Act. Like the other socialist countries, the CSSR approaches the Final Act as a comprehensive document, which must be implemented and developed in all its parts.

Question: Can you conclude by illustrating for our readers the course to be taken in the preparations of the Madrid negotiations proper, scheduled for 11 November 1980?

Answer: The preparatory meeting of experts will take place in September. It will assess matters of procedure and organization, and it should also determine the duration of the Madrid meeting. [paragraph continues]

Differing opinions exist as to the level at which the November negotiations will be held. Certain partners have announced that their delegations will be led by their foreign ministers; the majority counts on the delegations being led by ambassadors or--as the Final Act states--by other "representatives nominated by the ministers of foreign affairs." At the beginning of the year I was able to convince myself directly in Madrid that the Spanish hosts are interested both in the meeting being held in a constructive working atmosphere and in its yielding specific results. In this they will have the full support of the Czechoslovak delegation.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND COMMENTS ON FIFTH CSCE ANNIVERSARY

AU0512Ø3 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 80 p 2

["Excerpts" from unattributed article: "Five Years After Helsinki"]

[Excerpts] On 1 Aug 1975, the leading representatives of 35 states signed the Final Act of the CSCE in Helsinki. Five years after that event, the great political weight of this document is evident in all its dimensions--especially in respect to the attacks by imperialist circles against detente. The seventies were a time of peaceful coexistence and increased cooperation among states of different social systems. The European treaties came into being, and the quadriparite agreement on West Berlin was concluded. These advances taken together assumed the form of a significant and weighty document of international law in the Helsinki Final Act.

The Final Act lists as one of the fundamental aims of the 35 signatory states "to promote better relations among each other and safeguard conditions among which the peoples may live in true and lasting peace, free of any form of threat to or curtailment of their security." This aim at present corresponds to the interests of all peoples and will continue to do so in the future. Moreover, its topicality today is more urgent than ever.

The result of Helsinki constitutes a defeat for the champions of cold war. It was a success for the policy of realism, reason and good will. The initiative for this conference was taken in 1966 by the states of the Warsaw Pact in their Bucharest declaration. It is above all thanks to the consistent and steadfast struggle of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community that this goal was finally reached. The fruits of the policy of detente have benefitted all peoples. Now they must be preserved and multiplied.

Our GDR, like the other socialist states, has worked consistently, constructively and in a businesslike spirit to implement the Final Act in its entirety. In doing so, contacts with leading representatives of European states were intensified. Let us cite the talks which Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, had with President Kekkonen of Finland, Austrian Chancellor Kreisky, FRG Chancellor Schmidt and Cyprus President Kyprianou. There were meetings on a high political level, among others with France, Belgium, Italy and Norway. The GDR has furnished a significant contribution to detente in Europe by concluding close to 150 treaties and agreements with capitalist participating states, comprising all sections of the Final Act.

Everything that has been achieved in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act in the way of good results, had to be enforced against the resistance of the enemies of detente. Moreover, we must note that the most aggressive circles of imperialism have become more and more active in the past years.

They want to disengage themselves from the Final Act and lead the process of its implementation into the cul de sac of confrontation. The aggressive circles of the United States and NATO are stepping up rearmament and opposing any step towards disarmament. In Washington, the ratification of the SALT II agreement is being blocked. The present U.S. administration is violating international treaties by economic, cultural and other boycott decisions. An avalanche of antisocialist and above all anti-Soviet defamations is being set off. This dangerous course of interference, menace and blackmail is directed against the letter and spirit of the Final Act, and impedes its implementation.

By contrast, the states of the socialist community are decisively pursuing the policy of Helsinki. The Warsaw Pact states advocate in their May declaration that all stipulations of the Final Act, and especially the principles governing mutual relations, be strictly adhered to in order to preclude the possibility of war.

So far, the measures of NATO's stepped-up armament, which are designed to topple the approximate military balance, have prevented any progress in the field of military detente. However, military detente constitutes the most urgent task of present European and international politics. The socialist states are concentrating their efforts on this point. They have submitted up-to-date and realistic proposals acceptable to all in the declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states of 15 May 1980. They have also renewed the proposal to convene an all-European conference on military detente and disarmament. They call upon the participating states of Helsinki to enhance the exchange of views on concrete questions of the preparation and implementation of this conference, so that a decision on its convocation can be arrived at during the forthcoming Madrid meeting.

As is known, the Helsinki Final Act provides for the organization of further meetings of the participating states to continue work for security and cooperation in Europe. After the first follow-up meeting in Belgrade, the next one is scheduled to be held in Madrid this fall. The Warsaw declarations suggests that before the beginning of that meeting, questions be singled out that can be given practical solutions in Madrid. Such measures would naturally have to fall within the framework of the Helsinki Final Act. They must be constructive and practical, that is they must meet the interests of all participating states. Success in Madrid requires that all participants act in a business like and responsible spirit, and create an atmosphere of understanding.

The GDR will undertake everything possible in Madrid in order to promote security and cooperation in Europe and ensure progress especially in the field of military detente. All states who contribute to a successful course of the Madrid meeting in this spirit will find an active partner in the GDR.

YUGOSLAV PAPER COMMENTS ON CSCE ANNIVERSARY

AU051600 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 80 p 7

[Vlado Teslic commentary: "Constant Process"]

[Text] When 5 years ago on this day the heads of government or heads of state of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada signed the CSCE Final Act in the great Finlandia hall in Helsinki, it seemed that a new era had begun, not only in the life of Europe, but also in the life of the entire international community. That was a time of the ascent of detente, stability, flourishing cooperation in all fields, expansion of human contacts and above all of faith in building a better future on "the old continent."

Five years are a short period to sum up the results of a historical document. International life has become more complex, relations have deteriorated, especially between the East and West, but the Helsinki Final Act nevertheless has lost none of its value and topicality. This is true because that act is oriented to the future, because it inaugurated the new principles of relations among states, principles that have a permanent value, and because it proceeded in its basic concepts from certain new realities of international life and from the need to respect those realities.

Triumph of New Realities

That was not a meeting in the classical sense of international conferences that perform the function of concluding a peace treaty, or of a congress that would dictate peace conditions from the position of victors like in the last war. It was instead the first meeting of the highest and completely equal statesmen of a continent, who did not discuss borders or changes of borders, and were not engaged in ensuring the privileges of the most powerful states. In Helsinki, the statesmen pledged to refrain from threats and the use of force, to respect the territorial integrity of each of the participant countries, to respect the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, and to respect human rights in all the aspects in which this problem appears, including the national rights of minorities.

It was a triumph of new realities, of new relations and of new concepts in international behavior. Europe was divided between East and West but the neutral and nonaligned countries, which perhaps made the most important imprint on the Helsinki conference, played an important role in its life. It was the first international meeting that both legally and politically sanctioned the new type of liberated country; that is, the socialist state and social system in Europe. This fact significantly contributed to the assertion of coexistence, peace, security and cooperation. But what opened broad prospects and opportunities for peaceful development were the principles of banning the use of force and of noninterference, respect for integrity and national sovereignty, the right to independent and free development, and of equality. It was the nonaligned and neutral countries primarily that successfully advocated these principles. As a matter of fact, the realization that Europe does not consist only of the countries of the two blocs, that a peaceful and secure development of Europe does not depend only on military equilibrium in central Europe, that the Mediterranean has an extraordinary role and that peace and detente in Europe are indivisible with peace and detente in other parts of the world, and especially in the Near Asian and African regions, for the first time found expression at the Helsinki meeting.

The Only Signpost

It is on this basis that today, too, the Helsinki conference is generally recognized as the only reliable signpost showing the way out of the low ebb of detente, from the crises that plague bloc relations, from cold war threats, from divisions and from a closing-off from others. The general agreement of all CSCE participant countries to again meet in Madrid this fall and contribute to further strengthening mutual confidence and advancing peace and security, is also an expression of validity of the Helsinki conference.

However, the other aspect of the CSCE that the participants of the ministerial conference will face also cannot be disregarded. This is the aspect of closing one's eyes to increasing tension in international relations as a result of the use of force and threats, and the illusion that Europe is an island of peace in a restless world; that is, that detente and peace are nevertheless divisible. This is a concept of bloc division and spheres of interest, and of strengtheing the monolithic character of the blocs and their military power. [paragraph continues]

It is the act of separating the individual aspects of "the Helsinki basket" and of using them to exert pressure on the other side. Those approaches both in the East and West that see the key to detente and stability in bloc arrangements and equilibrium established from the position of force, represent a special difficulty.

Naturally, it is illusory to expect that Madrid will not be a scene of bloc confrontations. However, it would be dangerous if Madrid became a scene of new bloc identification, and of withdrawal of blocs within themselves. That would be contrary to the Helsinki spirit and to the new realities in Europe which in this difficult international situation, see and seek the vital interests in strengthening detente and expanding cooperation. It would also considerably hinder realization of future European conferences which would consider various aspects of military security.

In the first examination of the results of implementation of the Final Act 2 years ago, the Belgrade meeting successfully overcame the tendency of exacerbating tension and of "passing judgments." Now the Madrid meeting faces the same problem, and its success would be a new assertion of the Helsinki accord as a dynamic peace-loving force and a constant process in advancing peace, security and cooperation.

BRATISLAVA PRAVDA EDITORIAL ON HELSINKI, MADRID CSCE

AU051340 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Aug 80 p 1

[Editorial: "An Example of Service to Europe"]

[Excerpts] Five years ago, when the CSCE in Helsinki culminated in the top representatives of 33 European states, the United States and Canada signing the Final Act, this simultaneously represented the highest level so far achieved in international detente both in Europe and the world.

Let us recall that at that time, Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium, stressed that the document signed is both a broad and a precise platform for the states' unilateral, bilateral and multilateral activities for years, or perhaps decades to come.

But which of the present U.S. leaders is willing to recall today the words said in Helsinki by Gerald Ford, who was then U.S. President? For instance, he states that detente is an evolutionary process and not a static state, and that we can expect constant progress which will come gradually, step by step and will mark the development we all expect? Certainly not the current President, Carter, who is suffering from an intermittment loss of memory even as regards his own statements. Instead of making an effort to solve existing problems, his administration is far more concerned with creating new ones.

The changes in U.S. policy, pushed through by the increased influence of the military-industrial complex, are undoubtedly the most negative factor that has asserted itself since the Helsinki conference--a factor which is mainly to blame for the far slower than necessary implementation of the Helsinki conclusions, as well as for the failure to fulfill to date the main demand--to expand detente from the political to the military sphere.

It is particularly in these circumstances, when several irresponsible steps by the current U.S. Government are worsening the international atmosphere, that it is extremely encouraging to see numerous proofs that the positive changes in relations among the European states throughout the continent have become so firmly anchored that no efforts by negative social forces can eradicate them.

Five years ago we stated that the CSCE had formulated and confirmed the basic principles of relations among the European states, on the basis of the recognition of territorial and political reality created in Europe during and after World War II. [paragraph continues]

In this sense, the CSCE had drawn a line under World War II and, 30 years after the end of this war, had become a kind of general peace treaty. Today we may say that these principles of relations have fully asserted themselves, and that on their basis a new reality of covenants has emerged which can still be disrupted, but in no way cancelled. The economic, political and cultural contacts among the states on our continent, the contacts and relations among the people, have reached a completely different level of knowledge, breadth, importance and commitment.

International developments in recent months have yielded ample proof of this reality. In a period when the current U.S. Government was, and is, striving to annul the comprehensively useful cooperation among the European states with different social systems, and to break the contacts that had been built with such effort in the past years, these contacts and cooperation have shown a resistance to change that is beneficial for the entire continent, regardless of Washington's destructive efforts.

The talks conducted by Leonid Brezhnev in the past few weeks with the top representatives of France and the FRG have yielded convincing proof that the changes in relations among the European states have firm foundations, and that the influences from beyond the ocean may complicate them but cannot prevent them. Apart from other things, in Helsinki Europe expressed its energetic decision to take its fate into its own hands and to keep it there; and Europe has absolutely no intention of renouncing this decision. A remarkable unity is manifested on our continent in this approach to the matter, regardless of differences in political opinions.

True, the military-industrial complex in the United States is unquestionably striving, in cooperation with the military-industrial complex in Western Europe, to provoke a new wave of feverish armament, which is directly contradictory to the conclusions of the Helsinki conference. The European public is opposed to their decisions, and the governments of the interested states must take this stand into account. As time passes, it becomes increasingly obvious that the efforts of the current U.S. Government to try once again to change the correlation of forces in the world in favor of imperialism are not only hopeless, but also signify a direct attack on the interests of European peoples, regardless of where they live.

The states represented at the Warsaw meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee again confirmed that no kind of weapon exists that they would not be prepared to limit or reduce on the basis of mutuality.

Extensive interest was evoked among the world public by the new ideas and specific proposals recently submitted by Leonid Brezhnev during negotiations between representatives of the Soviet Union and the FRG. These proposals open the paths for negotiations, within the framework of which matters concerning both the medium-range missile and nuclear weapons in Europe, and the already existing American forward-based so-called nuclear defense systems, would be assessed simultaneously and as an organic whole.

These negotiations can start even without waiting for the ratification of the SALT II treaty by the U.S. Senate, on condition that the agreements achieved would be carried out after the treaty becomes valid.

These proposals unambiguously testify how consistently the Soviet Union is implementing, together with the other countries of the socialist community, the conclusions of the Helsinki conference. The manner in which the other side is and will be replying to them simultaneously represents the criterion of its attitude toward its own signature under such a significant document as the CSCE Final Act.

BUDAPEST PAPER CALLS FOR PROGRESS IN MADRID

AU051426 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Aug 80 p 3

[Janos Hajdu article: "The Day of Europe"]

[Excerpt] Preparing for the Madrid conference, one cannot give preference to any other subject than what we call, using a collective term, military detente. Still, in the wake of favorable experiences, it is also clear how much one must and can do to enrich the content of the traditional Helsinki "baskets."

This applies by no means least of all to the economic sphere. In recent years, it was in Europe that East-West economic contacts rode out with minimum upheaval all the calamities that are partly of an economic origin; that is, those that stem from a general slackening of prosperity--such as most countries' balance of payments problems. In protecting their recognized interests, the European partners have remained fairly consistent even when Washington proclaimed its politically-motivated embargo and economic boycott, and a general slowdown in developing relations.

It is of common interest now for us to stabilize what we have achieved, and make essential and substantial progress in resolving all the global problems that cannot be treated in any other way than through cooperation extending across borders. It will be worth paying more attention to the implementation of joint energy management plans, as well as to coordination of communications policy concepts and projects. It may be proper to recall on today's anniversary that the socialist countries have on several occasions and at several forums made proposals concerning the aforementioned areas; and that it is now the turn of the capitalist countries' governments to respond to them.

We can safely say that the withering away of the politically ill-intentioned campaign pursued in an ignoble style, a campaign completely inconsistent with the spirit of the Final Act, that was launched on the pretext--and not in defense--of human rights from Washington, was a European success of recent years.

The Final Act provided and provides many kinds of possibilities for augmenting the results so far attained and for progress in culture, science, education and information, as well as in human relations. Of course, one cannot weaken detente by fomenting mistrust and by attempts to intervene, while at the same time demanding more human contacts. It is to be hoped that this realization will make its effect felt in Madrid.

When on the anniversary of CSCE we advocate faithfulness to the Helsinki spirit and making preparations with the intention to constructively cooperate in Madrid, we are also preparing to continue writing an important and successful chapter in our national foreign policy. In close cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, we continue the endeavor to contribute our share to the defense of detente and the development of cooperation among European countries.

Our position is clear and unequivocal: We intend to strengthen international peace and European security, in particular not through new dangerous armament programs, but through negotiations, through the development of East-West cooperation. In the present situation, a great deal depends on the position that will be adopted by the Western politicians who have been our partners in building European security and cooperation for a fair while. We trust that their sense of reality will triumph, and on the basis of the primacy of peace and security, that they will ultimately respond soberly to the urgent questions of the era. Continuing detente and strengthening the Helsinki spirit is a fundamental and common interest.

PRAGUE RUDE PRAVO VIEWS HELSINKI CSCE RESULTS

AU051344 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Aug 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Helsinki 5 Years Later"]

[Excerpts] The time that has passed since the Helsinki conference has proved that it will not be an easy matter to assert the Helsinki principles; that it will be necessary to overcome many an obstacle and difficulty, and also to ward off attempts to reverse developments. Such an attempt is taking place at the moment. In sharp contradiction to the commitments adopted by the United States in Helsinki, a crude attack is being launched from Washington against the very substance of peaceful coexistence, against the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems--an attack aimed at increasing international tension. On the other hand, the fact that most European capitalist countries have not succumbed to the Washington diktat and continue the political dialogue, as well as economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist states, nevertheless confirms the viability of the Helsinki ideas.

Thus it can be said without exaggeration that, particularly in the present complicated international situation, the significance of the results of the Helsinki conference has in no way decreased; on the contrary, it has increased. Undoubtedly, Helsinki has helped strengthen the realistic attitudes of many West European statesmen and has created a reliable base for the policy of detente, which has asserted itself even at critical moments.

It will certainly be a long-term matter to assert the Helsinki principles, for it was also a long process that led to Helsinki, the results of many years of effort. The fact that it was the proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact states that were anchored as indispensable principles of peaceful coexistence and security in Europe in the CSCE Final Act, undoubtedly represented a success for the long years of the socialist countries' efforts. But it is also to the credit of those realistically thinking politicians in West European states who see the guarantee of their countries' and peoples' future in the establishment of conditions for a stable peace in Europe, in detente and the strengthening of peaceful cooperation.

The attack that is currently waged from Washington for the purpose of unleashing a new armament spiral, halting the detente process and reversing the development of economic and political relations among states with different social systems in undoubtedly the frankest and most broadly based attack against the basic results of the Helsinki conference.

For all of 5 years it was necessary to fight persistently and stubbornly for the realization of the Helsinki principles. It was necessary to defend them even against those who, by intentionally taking the individual parts of the Final Act and interpreting them in a distorted manner, were in fact trying to distract attention from the main principles and, contrary to them, to grossly interfere in the affairs of socialist countries and to disrupt and hamper the process of detente. Although these attempts have failed, it can nevertheless be expected that those who had only half-heartedly committed themselves to the Final Act will continue these attempts also at the imminent Madrid meeting, as testified to by the 30 July statement by U.S. President Carter.

In opposition to those who would like to profit from the increase of international tension, the socialist states are resolutely striving to prevent a renewal of hostility and distrust on the European Continent, and to further develop the process of detente.

Together with the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states, Czechoslovakia too is contributing its honest share both to the broadest implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence that were agreed on and formulated in the Helsinki Final Act, and to the continuation of the fruitful dialogue and elimination of all obstacles in the path of the further development of European cooperation. It is with this goal in mind that our country is preparing itself for the Madrid meeting of the CSCE participant states.

However, as was also stressed by the Warsaw Pact states in the declaration of their May session, in the first place it is necessary that particularly in the current situation all participants in the Madrid meeting should strive to create an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding necessary for the success of this meeting. We want to contribute to making this meeting constructive, because only thus will it be possible to ward off the attempts to threaten the process of detente and to help it spread further, primarily into the military sphere, where it is most needed, in the interests of the peaceful development of Europe. That is why it is above all necessary to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. The Madrid meeting could help achieve this, if all its participants would really act in the spirit of the Helsinki provisions.

In balancing the past 5 years, it can be said that--like the other socialist countries--Czechoslovakia endeavored to contribute its honest share to the realization of the Final Act, both by establishing good relations with its neighbors and developing economic, cultural and scientific cooperation, and by expanding contacts among people, as well as in other spheres. It is not the fault of the socialist states that the progress has not been greater. We expect the Madrid meeting to help achieve greater successes in the following year.

Particularly today, all those who are concerned about the peaceful future of Europe should contribute to this by their constructive approach to the realization of the principles of the Helsinki conference.

HORIZONT: EAST PREPARED FOR 'FAR-REACHING CONCESSIONS' AT MBFR

AU051701 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 31/1980

[Jan Neumann article: "After the 21st Round of the Vienna Talks: Reason and Political Realism Essential"]

[Excerpts] A few days ago the 21st round of the negotiations on mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe was concluded. Shortly before, on 10 July, a new proposal by the USSR, the GDR, the Polish People's Republic and the CSSR had attracted the world public's attention. Western mass media talked about a "surprising initiative."

However, it could be "surprising" only to those who either do not want to understand the consistent peace policy of the Warsaw Pact countries, or who have dealt only most superficially with their concrete program of political and military detente. This leaves no doubts about the intentions of the socialist countries. Their activities in Vienna are an expression of the strong dynamics with which they have tackled the implementation of all plans and proposals of the Warsaw Pact declaration. In this context the timing of the new initiative in Vienna is particularly significant, as it certainly shows that the USSR and the other socialist states are doing everything to intensify the search for solutions to the vital issues of military detente on the European Continent particularly in the present international situation that has been exacerbated by the most aggressive circles of imperialism.

Far-Reaching and Generous Offers

What then is the point of the new proposals? Seven years of negotiations in Vienna have shown that the NATO countries are not willing to conclude agreements on comprehensive mutual force reductions in central Europe. The proposals of the socialist countries at the beginning of the negotiations, which provided for a reduction of the armed forces of NATO and of the Warsaw Pact organization within 3 years by 150,000 men on each side, were rejected. In the endeavor to nevertheless achieve agreements, the socialist countries are now ready, for the time being, to postpone a comprehensive solution of the problems of the Vienna negotiations, and to concentrate first of all on the quick drafting of an agreement on a first reduction phase. The key element of this phase is to be reductions of USSR and U.S. ground forces.

The reduction quotas envisaged in the proposal for both countries are of special significance. According to the proposal, the Soviet Union is to withdraw from central Europe 20,000 men and the United States 13,000 men. This reduction of the number of Soviet soldiers would be effected in addition to the 20,000 men whose unilateral withdrawal from the USSR is now nearly completed. Thus the Soviet forces reduction would amount to a total of 40,000 men.

Why is this an extraordinarily far-reaching and generous offer to the Western countries?

First of all the fact of the unilateral withdrawal of Soviet armed forces speaks for itself. This action means no less than that the USSR is making important practical concessions right in the middle of the negotiating process. This is unprecedented in the history of the disarmament negotiations between East and West. The striving for peace of the states of the socialist community could not be demonstrated more clearly. The whole mendacity of the assertion of an alleged "threat from the East" could not be unmasked more clearly.

The substantial concessions are at the same time evident from those factors that were brought to light by the exchange of troop strength figures of the NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries in central Europe, an exchange that was recently effected at the initiative of the socialist countries. This comparison of figures, as has been learned from Vienna, has resulted in the following essential findings:

First, they confirmed that an approximate balance of military forces continues to exist in central Europe. Any prattle about a numerical military superiority of the Warsaw Pact in central Europe--be it by 25,000, 50,000 or even by 150,000 men--is a figment of the imagination. There are no major differences between the personnel strengths of the two sides' ground an air forces. Thus there are favorable prerequisites for immediately working out a first reduction agreement. The socialist countries have a vital interest in that. More than ever before, it holds true today: A situation cannot be tolerated where military balance is at the same time the expression of an exceedingly great and dangerous confrontation, and where the further expansion of military potentials is not subjected to effective limitations. This is precisely why it is necessary in Vienna, on the basis of the principle of undiminished security of all participants, to conclude agreements which maintain the military balance with fewer armed forces and weapons.

Second, the exchange of figures clearly shows that the states of the socialist defense alliance, faithful to their principle not to strive for military superiority, have not made any efforts to alter the existing military balance of strength since the opening of the Vienna talks. They have not increased their armed forces but, on the contrary, even unilaterally reduced them.

Third, the exchange of figures proves that the NATO bloc has acted in precisely the opposite way. Irrespective of the fact that they participated in disarmament negotiations, its members have substantially increased the troop strengths of their ground and air forces. This applies especially to the United States, which has increased its armed forces in that region by about 25,000 men. This NATO course aimed at obtaining military superiority, is after all also the cause of the stagnation of the Vienna talks. It explains why the Western participants have again rejected the socialist countries' proposal, submitted as early as in 1974, not to increase the personnel strength of all armed forces in central Europe for the duration of the Vienna talks.

Acceptable Approaches to Solutions for All Key Questions

In view of these factors the new proposal means, in plain words: Although the Soviet armed forces have already been reduced and, in contrast to that, the U.S. forces have been reinforced recently, the USSR is ready to withdraw another 20,000 men in exchange for a withdrawal of only 13,000 U.S. soldiers from central Europe offered by the West. In the expectation that, on the side of the Western participants in the negotiations, reason and political realism will at long last gain the upper hand, the socialist states are ready to make such far-reaching concessions. The new proposals by the socialist states are indeed an investment for the future of the negotiations. This initiative for a quick conclusion of a first agreement is also highly valuable for the future of the Vienna negotiations because it is conceived as a basis and an impetus for subsequent more comprehensive agreements. When this initiative was explained before the international press on 10 July, it was particularly stressed that it is a logical continuation and a supplement to the known compromise proposals of the socialist countries made in 1978 and 1979.

These proposals are of a complex nature and outline acceptable approaches to solutions for all key questions of effective force reduction in central Europe. Such questions are primarily on the reduction not only of the personnel strength of armed forces but also of arms, and the establishment of guarantees that, in a second phase, the other direct participants in the negotiations (they are, in addition to the USSR and the United States, the FRG, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Canada, Poland, the CSSR and the GDR) also reduce their armed forces approximately proportional to their military potential in central Europe. For the West European countries and Canada it is really high time to clearly state what concrete contribution they will make toward the reduction of their armed forces and arms. After all, these countries contribute 75 percent to the NATO contingent in central Europe, and the FRG alone 50 percent. In the long run it will of course not be possible to seriously speak about a real easing of military confrontation in that region if the West European countries situated there refuse to make a contribution of their own to disarmament. It should be clear to these countries that the USSR's readiness to reduce, in the first phase, a substantially higher number of troops than the United States is directly dependent on their readiness to adopt commitments for future force reductions of their own, to freeze their own troop strengths until then, and to thus compensate the Soviet advance concessions.

There Are No Culs de Sac for a Realistic Policy

The constructive negotiating position of the socialist countries is also marked by new suggestions on a number of other problems that have to be clarified in connection with an agreement on troop reductions. Thus the proposal of 10 July contains rules for compliance with the common ceiling for armed forces personnel of the two military alliances in central Europe that is to be established after the conclusion of the two reduction phases. These rules take into consideration the Western interest not to fix strict individual limitations for each NATO country. At the same time, however, they do not permit an indefinite increase of armed forces by any one participating country after conclusion of the reductions.

It can only be hoped that there will not be a repetition of the development in the West that followed the important proposals made by the socialist countries in 1978. At that time, too, there was a positive response heard by the top leaders of the NATO countries, but, as it turned out later on, it served merely to reassure and divert the attention of the public interested in progress at the negotiations. At the negotiating table itself, however, the West chose to continue and intensify its policy aimed at obtaining one-sided military advantages. It became more and more clear that the Western attitude in Vienna was increasingly adjusted to the long-term armament policy of NATO. This finally culminated in the so-called "new" proposals submitted in December 1979, which were nothing but a "political-diplomatic" supplement of the fateful Brussels missile decisions.

Thus the Vienna negotiations had been maneuvered into a cul de sac by NATO. The NATO countries now have good opportunities to abandon their unrealistic positions and, by a positive reaction to the socialist countries' proposals, to make their own constructive contribution to a first agreement in Vienna. In the 22d round of the Vienna negotiations, which will begin at the end of September, the ball continues to be in the NATO court.

ZHIVKOV DEPARTS FOR USSR ON 'SHORT VISIT'

AU060915 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 Aug 80

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, has departed for the USSR on a short visit.

TODOROV RECEIVES IRAQI MINISTER; PROTOCOL SIGNED

JN031255 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1200 GMT 3 Aug 80

[Text] Sofia--Bulgarian Premier Stanko Todorov has praised the role which Iraq, under the leadership of President Saddam Husayn, is playing on the Arab and international levels. Todorov made this remark in Sofia yesterday on meeting with Muhammad Fadil, Iraqi public works and housing minister, who is currently visiting Bulgaria.

During this meeting, at which bilateral relations were reviewed, the Iraqi minister conveyed the greetings of the party and revolution leadership to Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, and to the Bulgarian people and government.

The Bulgarian premier asked the Iraqi minister to convey Chairman Zhivkov's greetings to President Saddam Husayn.

Cooperation Protocol

AU051530 Sofia BTA in English 1431 GMT 5 Aug 80

[Text] Sofia, 5 Aug (BTA)--A protocol on cooperation was signed here today between the Ministry of Construction and Building Material and the Ministry of Housing Construction and Restoration of Iraq. It provides for an expansion of reciprocal ties in the field of housing construction, research and development activity and the building of roads and bridges.

The document was signed by Mr Ivan Sakarev, minister of construction and building material, and Mr Muhammad Fadil, minister of housing construction and restoration of Iraq.

AFGHAN JOURNALISTS GRADUATE FROM SOFIA INSTITUTE

AU011700 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 1 Aug 80

[Text] Sofia, 1 Aug (BTA)--Today twenty journalists from Afghanistan received their diplomas here upon graduating the third school of the Georgi Dimitrov International Institute of Journalism. Major (Gulam Hazrad) and (Mia Hashemi) said: "We are grateful to the Bulgarian journalists for their internationalism. We shall never forget the lessons in journalism, party studies and internationalism." Similar is the content of the song poet (Djulmahan Kalandar) dedicated to Bulgaria.

Mr Vesselin Yossifov, president of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists and president of the Social Commission of the International Organization of Journalists, congratulated the Afghan journalists stressing that they are taking the great responsibility of all people of the pen fighting for freedom, peace and justice. He expressed the support of the Bulgarian and all the progressive journalists for the Afghan people's struggle against the encroachments of imperialism and reaction.

CARTER STATEMENT ON U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS TERMED 'HYPOCRISY'

AU051352 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Aug 80 p 6

[Milos Krejci commentary: "Carter's Hypocrisy"]

[Text] It boggles one's mind.

At a time when the echo of the bloody events in Miami reverberates through the city of Chattanooga and elsewhere in the United States, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Final Act President Carter delivered a startling speech to the U.S. delegation that will take part in the Madrid meeting.

He declared: "If we look at the protection of human rights in the Helsinki accords, we find no shortcomings (understand: in the United States). The path we have embarked upon is correct." Is it just self-praise or the loss of memory? Hardly. After years of Carter's rule--when representatives of broad strata of the American people never cease to remind their President that in the first place he should take care of ensuring human rights at home, where the fundamental human right to earn one's living does not exist, and where the racial oppression of the 40 million members of ethnic groups creates serious unrest--such a statement is certainly misplaced. It was after all Carter's ambassador to the United Nations who said that there are hundreds and perhaps thousands of political prisoners in the United States.

And the United States, or better said its ruling class, remains outside its own territory the most blatant example of direct support for the failure to observe human rights. It supports any sort of terrorist regime, any sort of fascist dictator.

And the most significant thing: Since the second half of the seventies, aggressive forces in the United States have been striving for a return to the cold war, thwarting negotiations and agreements that could lead to the relaxation of tension, and jeopardizing the world by their renewed balancing on the verge of a war catastrophe. Thus they are waging an attack on the most humane of human rights--on the right to live in peace.

In such a situation Carter's statement cannot be characterized as anything else but hypocrisy.

U.S., BEIJING 'FIGHT' AGAINST 'PROGRESSIVE' REGIMES EXAMINED

LD051240 Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 5 Aug 80

[Commentary by Kvetoslav Faix, first deputy director general of Czechoslovak radio]

[Text] During the past few years we have witnessed more and more military intervention against nations which have dared to break and cast off the shackles of political and economic dependence on the imperialist countries and particularly on the United States. Thus in May of this year, South African military units, eight regiments strong and equipped with helicopters and tanks, invaded Angola. In cooperation with the terrorist, reactionary Angolan organization UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], the South African soldiers murdered on occupied Angolan territory several hundreds of civilians, razed villages, blew up bridges and shot almost all domestic animals. The UN Security Council condemned this aggression against Angola and called on the South African Government to immediately withdraw its units from Angolan territory. It was symptomatic that the representatives of the United States and its closest allies abstained during voting in the council. Socialist Ethiopia too has had to defend itself strenuously for some time now against attacks from Somalia, whose government is making unjustifiable claims on large tracts of Ethiopian territory.

And the situation is the same on the Asian Continent as in Africa. The Kampuchean people, who rid themselves, with the fraternal help of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, of the criminal Pol Pot regime, now have to face a new danger. Remnants of the Pol Pot armies, which fled to Thailand last year, are being formed there anew into terrorist units, equipped with American and Chinese weapons, and secretly sent back into Kampuchea to murder and disturb the restoration of peaceful life there.

Hand in hand with this running aggression against Kampuchea there has been a new wave of provocations on Sino-Vietnamese borders and the Beijing rulers talk quite openly about their determined intention to teach a new lesson to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The events in Afghanistan deserve special attention. This is because the American President Carter and reactionary circles in NATO are misusing them in order to plunge the whole world into a new cold war. The Afghan people, who decided to put an end to feudalism and to set out along the road of building a new and progressive society, are subjected to treacherous attacks by terrorist bands, which are under the guidance of the United States and China, organized and equipped in special training camps in neighboring Pakistan.

And to make the picture complete, let us recall certain events that have occured lately in Latin America. The whole world follows with horror the atrocities committed against the Bolivian people by the military junta, which by way of a fascist putch thwarted the establishment of a progressive government that had emerged from free elections. The situation in Salvador is similar where the military junta, with open U.S. support, is desperately trying to drown in blood the revolutionary movement. And Nicaragua, where the people have already won, has to defend continuously its freedom in face of armed bands, which are infiltrating Nicaraguan territory from neighboring countries.

It is one and the same war, the strategy and tactics of which were worked out in Washington on the basis of the lesson drawn from the catastrophical defeat which the United States suffered in Indochina. If at all possible, the United States refrains from direct military intervention against nations which have decided to develop their countries in a progressive manner, and for this purpose it uses foreign hands that they supply not only with military equipment, but also military specialists and great economic assistance.

The most reliable foreign hands in the fight against nations which have embarked along the road of national independence and social progress are presented to Washington by the present Beijing leadership. The Washington-Beijing axis today forms the backbone of world reaction, whose aim is to thwart the nations of the developing countries in their progressive development and to deprive them of their hard-won freedom and independence, to decimate them in such a way so as to make it clear to the whole of the developing world that whoever fails to live in accordance with the conditions dictated by the power centers in Washington and Beijing must deal with the fact that he will not live at all.

These are cunning and dangerous plans but despite this they are doomed to failure. The biggest guarantee of this today is the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. This is why the world map is changing from day to day and on it we are able to verify how the forces of socialism and progress are growing and on the other hand how imperialism is being gradually pushed back. Although it can cause many difficulties and can impede development, it is no longer capable of halting the course of mankind to socialism and progress.

WESTERN JOURNALIST OLYMPIC REPORTS DESCRIBED AS 'FABRICATIONS'

AU050933 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Aug 80 p 8

[Pavol Krsak in the column "Our note": "Limitless Fabrications"]

[Text] The successful, indeed excellent course of the Moscow games constantly bothers bourgeois propagandists. When one of their arguments fails, they promptly come forward with another designed in particular to denigrate the organizers and local athletes in their readers' eyes. Of late, in accordance with the proverb "the wish is father to the thought," they have been selecting field and track events for their fabrications. In the past few days representatives of some U.S., FRG and other Western newspapers have published downright ridiculous fabrications about the reasons for the successes of the host country's athletes. Here is one of the variants: It has been alleged that the gates (of the entrance tunnels) to the Luzhniky Stadium were opened and closed while the Soviet athletes were throwing the javelin in order to create better aerodynamic conditions. They have also been casting aspersions on the objectivity of the referees.

The bourgeois press fabrications have gone so far that the IAAF [International Amateur Athletics Federation] chairman, Adrian Paulen of the Netherlands, decided to make a statement. He did so yesterday afternoon at a press conference, which he attended together with Artur Takac of Yugoslavia and Frederick Holder of England, the IAAF's technical delegates to the Moscow Olympic games.

"I categorically reject all fabrications," A. Paulen stated. "There is no doubt about the referees' qualifications and their high degree of objectivity; this is the second time that I have stated this publicly. Some journalists are casting doubt on the order in which individual tracks have been allocated; they are asserting that the Western runners have been given the worst ones. Those who have not been lucky in that respect have only had bad luck in drawing lots to blame. As regards the quality of the decision-making, there is evidence in the number of protests submitted. To date there have been only 2, while 4 years ago at the Montreal games there were more than 15. Finally I should like to remark that all men in red jackets in the stadium are members of the IAAF Council. They are carefully following the work of Soviet referees and do not see any departures from the regulations."

A. Paulen confirmed that the referee's decision in the case of the Australian triple jump athlete Campbell was absolutely correct. The Australian, in the second stage of his jump, clearly violated the rule banning touching down with the other foot. The videotape recording showed that. The IAAF chairman also rejected various suspicions. One of them, voiced by a Springer's [FRG publishing house] journalist, concerned the fact that one of the pole vault referees was allegedly the Soviet trainer.

"I do not know anything about it, but if you know, tell us his name," Paulen told him.

Naturally, an embarassing silence followed.

Even the arguments of the highest representative of world athletics, his unequivocal position, are not enough for the enemies of the Olympic movement, among which can be counted some journalists present in Moscow. Kenneth Richard of the Los Angeles TIMES, who from the first day of his stay in Moscow asked for the floor at every press conference, and whose questions and remarks have more than once evoked general merriment, yesterday chose as a weapon an unfastidious, tactless question.

"Mr Paulen, tell us: Are you at all competent to be in charge of the international athletics federation?"

"That is none of your business, but the business of the people who elected me," the chairman answered calmly.

The impudence of some people of the bourgeois press knows no bounds.

CPSL OFFICIAL URGES GREATER RECEPTIVENESS TO CRITICISM

AU051631 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Miloslav Boda, chairman of the CPSL Central Control and Auditing Commission: "A Form of Help, a Method of Improving Work: On Some Questions Concerning Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Excerpts] Our party's history convincingly confirms Lenin's idea that criticism and self-criticism are among the most important principles of the party's management of economic and cultural construction and a tested method of overcoming and correcting shortcomings and improving and perfecting the style of work. In our present life they are consistently asserted as powerful means and necessary criteria for the development of socialist democracy and the consolidation of party and state discipline. They are also considered an important method of educating cadres.

Incorrect Tendencies

Positive results can only be achieved at workplaces which create an atmosphere in which it is possible to voice demands and suggestions free of fear, at workplaces that respect critical views and where they are reflected in appropriate decisions. What we want is for each workplace and collective to fully understand the constructive role of criticism and self-criticism.

This Leninist concept of criticism and self-criticism, which our party leadership is purposefully striving to assert, has not yet found its way to all workplaces and employees. At some places an erroneous view is held about its application.

From practice we know cases of employees who do not like to listen to candid critical words and who, by any means, try to get rid of "uncomfortable people" that have an opinion of their own and the boldness to openly speak or write the truth about shortcomings. We also come across bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies to suppress criticism under the pretext that it is "not constructive," "irresponsible," "onesided by generalizing negative facts," "unscrupulous" and so forth or the tendency to simply ignore criticism.

Those responding to criticism in an arrogant way are mostly quarrelsome employees who are convinced of their infallibility, of their perfect skills and knowledge. Such employees are striving to gradually eliminate potential critics from the collective or to compromise or ridicule them in one way or another. People who are afraid of losing their position and lack confidence in their own intellectual and organizational skills also are mostly incapable of a creative and sincere attitude toward criticism. On the other hand, the awareness of one's own merit linked with the readiness to pass a test mostly aids a frank and wise reaction to criticism and a calm and businesslike exchange of views and arguments.

In present conditions when the overall increase of the educational level enhances the ability to critically assess shortcomings and to openly express well-informed critical views--after all, party members and candidate members with secondary or university-level education account for almost 70 percent of the total number--when our each step depends on the masses' aware, active and creative participation in its realization, it is particularly inadmissible and harmful for the individual, collective and the society as a whole when criticism is curtailed and suppressed, when the attitude toward shortcomings is lax and when the attained results are assessed in an uncritical way. Revenge and reprisals for criticism are particularly harmful and contemptible.

To Come To Understand and Give Support to Efforts to Help

At inspections and check-ups conducted we have always arrived at the conclusion that the most important prerequisite for developing criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, is improving practical preparation and the course of party committee sessions, members' meetings and meetings of the party aktiv and overcoming unspecific targeting of criticism, which should expose mistakes in the work of bodies, organizations and specific people. It is necessary to see to it that party sessions and meetings take place in accordance with the party statutes, in an atmosphere of the communists' great exactingness toward themselves and toward elected party bodies, that the reports are governed by principle and are self-critical, and expose shortcomings and their causes. We must also fully apply that part of the party statutes which speak about the essential need to draw uncompromising conclusions against those who directly or indirectly harrass and persecute for criticism. Party bodies must not tolerate even the slightest manifestations of the suppression of criticism nor attempts to sully those who criticize. On the other hand they must see to it that good workers do not become, under the caption of "criticism," a victim of scheming and intrigues of demagogues, and of lazy and dishonest people.

At the same time we must emphatically put in their place those who criticize for the sake of criticism, those who are trying to acquire the reputation of the sole seekers of truth. Such a "seeker of truth" spends his time at meetings and writes down everything that was said there about the shortcomings and failures which the collective is striving to overcome and eliminate by adopting acti e measures and by implementing them. However, instead of contributing to a solution he begins to present the shortcomings as his own viewpoint and his "critical warning" for the superior bodies. Criticism can only fulfill its mission well when it is not inspired by selfish motives but by the employee's profound inner need to help the cause.

Our findings bear out that in many party organizations the state of criticism and self-criticism requires improvement. The criticism contained in reports is often too general, does not contain matter-of-fact analysis of the given problem and does not, therefore, clearly expose the responsibility of specific employees, including the leading workers, for the existing state of affairs. It also does not show the way or provide instructions for changing the situations for the better. We certainly do not want those who are the target of criticism to embrace it. That would not be realistic. However, we want them to assume a correct attitude toward criticism. We want them to be able to overcome the momentary personal bitterness and to see behind critical remarks the effort to aid the cause.

Criticism in the Press--A Mobilizing Factor

The party press and other media of mass communications are of great help to party bodies and organizations in such development of criticism and self-criticism. [paragraph continues]

After the 15th CPCZ Congress, the CPSL congress and especially after the discussion and approval of the principles concerning further development of criticism and self-criticism in the party press by the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat in February 1979, the party press has begun to better generalize and publicize positive experiences, not only our experiences but also the most important inspiring experiences of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, and to more consistently fight for that which is new and progressive in production and in public and personal life, for efficiency and good quality of all work and for more prompt application of the results of scientific-technical development in production. It has been approaching with critical exactingness lack of thrift, poor quality, lack of organization, bureaucratism, waste, violations of party and state discipline and of socialist legality, illicit use of offices, enrichment, sloppy work habits and other malfeasance.

Critical and specifically targeted articles against shortcomings and mistakes have evoked a positive response among the reading public. That confirms that well-elaborated material published in newspapers enjoys great respect among the population. The newspapers' potential strength lies especially in the fact that they are an important instrument of shaping public opinion. From this ensures the author's and the editorial office's great responsibility not only for the trustworthiness and veracity of each word but also for selection and treatment of the subject matter.

We have been able to verify that critical articles published in the party press teach us a lesson, help to expose the causes of mistakes and shortcomings and help to prevent them--not only in the organizations that are the target of criticism, but in many other organizations as well. At the same time they are a mobilizing factor in rallying the working people to fulfill workplace tasks. They originate, in essence, on the basis of letters and complaints addressed to party bodies of editorial offices and in accordance with results of controls and check-ups carried out on the basis of those letters and complaints.

Suppression of Criticism--A Serious Political Issue

The overwhelming majority of enterprises, organizations and individuals respond to criticism in the party press by carrying out candid self-criticism. After thorough analysis the enterprises discuss the problems in the work collectives and in party and trade union organizations, adopt effective measures and inform the public how they have come to terms with the criticized shortcomings and mistakes.

However, there also exist other approaches, which can be characterized as follows: If they do not want to praise us, we will not let them criticize us. There are many ways of preventing criticism in the press. The following are among them:

--The casting of doubt on the reliability, honesty and moral qualities of the one who complained, in the course of the check-up, or even after its termination, when it becomes known that a critical article will be published on the outcome of the complaint;

--Persistent attempts to obtain a negative attitude toward the criticism by the party organization committee, the enterprise committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and some officials and functionaries of higher bodies;

--The writing of unsubstantiated complaints, including anonymus letters, against those who carried out the inspection and prepared the article;

--Intimidation;

--After the publication of the article, refusal or hesitancy to assume an attitude toward the criticism and failure to adopt corrective measures, even though the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session pointed out again that all bodies and institutions are obliged to respond to criticism of the information media and, primarily, seek a remedy of the critized shortcomings.

It must be said that these are cases of deliberate suppression of criticism and thus a serious political issue because every shortcoming, neglect and violation that is disregarded hampers timely and successful fulfillment of tasks and has an impact on both the work collective and society as a whole.

The success of the struggle against these practices will depend, among other things, on how we succeed in overcoming the deformation of the Leninist concept of criticism and self-criticism of the sixties, which still persists at some places. It is the view that criticism arms our enemies and impairs the authority of leadership and the leader and the ideas of socialism.

We possess sufficient experience in our party and society acquired in the critical period to be able to say that nothing can cause greater damage to the cause of socialism than keeping secret one's shortcomings and mistakes. He who underestimates criticism, who evades it under the pretexts we have mentioned and who suppresses it is doomed to fail, through his own fault. V.I. Lenin unequivocally warned: "For a fighting party of the progressive class mistakes are nothing terrible. It would be terrible to subbornly persist in the mistake and to be hypocritically ashamed of admitting and correcting it."

At some places it will also be necessary to overcome the deeply rooted notion that criticism and especially criticism published in the press is an overture to the release of the criticized person from office. This is an erroneous notion proceeding from the proposition that a leading worker must be an infallible person who knows everything, who does not have any shortcomings and whom his subordinates cannot advise or help in anything. We know very well that this is not realistic. There are no such people. That is why we come across in life, and will continue to do so, mistakes and shortcomings, what matters is, however, what atmosphere the leading worker concerned creates for the criticism of mistakes and shortcomings and whether he is prepared to accept criticism and to make use of it in order to improve his own work and the work of the collective run by him and to speedily eliminate the criticized phenomena.

LENART, JAKES END VISIT TO EAST SLOVAKIA

LD052242 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 5 Aug 80

[Text] Josef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and Milos Jakes, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today concluded their working visit to the East Slovak region. After a conference on problems of the East Slovak lowlands they visited the unified agricultural cooperative at Kamenica-Nad Cirochou and then journeyed to Streda Nad Bodrogom. Comrade Jakes stressed that party and state bodies of the region mobilize both people and technology in an enterprising way to ensure minimal losses and described the East Slovak region and its lowlands as a reserve of agricultural crops of nationwide importance. He also positively assessed a number of concrete proposals for the continuation of water conservancy measures in the lowlands and stressed the necessity of preserving the already constructed works.

LEUSCHNER SCORES WESTERN OLYMPIC, ARMS REPORTS

DW051536 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1712 GMT 4 Aug 80

[Guenter Leuschner foreign political review: "The World Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] Good evening, dear listeners. The Olympic flags have been put away again, and the initial reviews of sport achievements have been made. But this is not what will be discussed here and, by the way, if such an assessment is that unequivocal then it is almost enough to simply be happy. What remains is the political balance-sheet, which is unequivocal as well. This is why I save myself the trouble of even listing the stupidities and tastelessness which the bourgeois propaganda during the past two weeks has poured in bucketfuls on Moscow, the hosts and the guests. If ridiculousness could kill, then the press, radio and television would be passing away in many Western places. [sentence indistinct]

It is for another reason that I nevertheless still want to keep to this subject. The mixture of arrogance and professional anticommunism produced here certainly is not a transient feature of bourgeois journalism. It forms part of its nature and normally finds much stronger expression in political journalism. In the case of the Olympic games it was quite easy for millions of spectators to perceive this nature as malicious and willful anticommunist agitation and slander. In many other cases due to various reasons, this is not quite as simple, though the core of the matter remains the same.

Let us take as the most topical example Western reaction to the pullout of 20,000 Soviet soldiers and 1,000 tanks from the GDR, and recall: The Soviet Union announced this unilateral measure in the foreground of NATO's missile decision in Brussels. This was done for two reasons: First, with a view to getting the Vienna troop reduction negotiations out of the deadlock through this unilateral act of good will; and second, to prevent the dangerous [word indistinct] NATO did not honor this step.

The Soviet Union nevertheless kept its word, started and concluded what it had announced even when the United States aggravated tensions in the world. [Passage indistinct] But anticommunism actually blinds and this is why [words indistinct] and those who in their commentaries spirited the withdrawn Soviet soldiers away mysteriously to places somewhere between the Elbe and (?Bug) rivers. Both are based on the same anticommunism which is not capable of being objective.

Or let us take another example of these days: Just as we did here, commentaries, reports and other utterances in the West paid tribute to the 5th anniversary of the signing of the CSCE Helsinki Final Act. On this objective [word indistinct] were made by some Western politicians as well, particularly with a view to the significance of the Madrid follow-up meeting. But things look quite different if one examines the (?tenor) of the mass media. What is expected and desired of Madrid then is that there will be the shortest possible discussion on disarmament and a particular emphasis on Afghanistan and the so-called dissidents in the socialist states.

Though comparisons always are lame, just imagine that the socialist mass media announces as the catchword for the Madrid meeting that we want to polemize against everything that we do not like about capitalism, from the role played by the United States in Bolivia, El Salvador or in South Korea up to the disregard for the basic human right to work. The employment bans in the FRG and [word indistinct]. Of course we would be accused--and in this respect even rightly--of seeking to wreck the conference in a situation in which actually much is at stake for the future of detente in Europe.

Every journalist in the West knows as we do that Madrid must not become a failure if the results of detente policy in Europe are to be maintained, and that this conference will not fail only if all the parties concerned enter this second CSCE follow-up meeting with supreme good will and without any polemics and propaganda. The difference actually consists only in the fact that we, the anticapitalists, act accordingly, whereas the declared anticommunists of the bourgeois mass media are indifferent to detente in as much as they were indifferent to the future of the Olympic movement in their reporting from Moscow.

With such remarks, dear listeners, I by no means want to treat every Western journalist alike. It also is not the persons who matter to me but the after effects of actions and likewise, not the necessary ideological debate but the methods of this debate.

Let us mention a third example from the past week, when FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, a bourgeois liberal paper of the Federal Republic, appeared in a rather strange situation. The paper said it was learned only now that U.S. Defense Secretary Brown in the spring of this year had confirmed vis-a-vis an American research institute that the Soviet Union has not increased but decreased the number of warheads for medium-range weapons during the past ten years. The oft-cited SS-20 missiles did not constitute any increase but only a modernization of the Soviet missile potential.

The paper draws the conclusion that the United States has withheld from its allies important findings, apparently to prevent an adverse effect on the Brussels missile decision. It is left in the air as to what motivated the publishers of FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU to now play up the utterances of Brown in such a way.

What appears to be interesting to me is something else: What the U.S. minister has "confirmed," as it is put, in fact is nothing new at all. In the weeks preceding Brussels there have been dozens and dozens of official Soviet statements in this context on the subject. At the time, armies of journalists were mustered with a view to either conceal or to describe as untrue, with a rattling of words, what Brown has now confirmed. All this was done for the purpose of not endangering in any way the fateful decisions of Brussels.

What kind of arrogance and how much foolishness actually is required in order to take Soviet statements for what they are only then when they are [one or two words indistinct] confirmed by an American minister, and when decisions of course have been made.

If one comes to realize as to how much political china has already been smashed then one loses any faith in the halo of so-called objectiveness which the Western media (put on themselves); and bets can be made already now that some day it will be discovered by someone that the so-called data discussion at the Vienna negotiations on troop reductions in central Europe, the allegation that the socialist states had stationed much more soldiers in central Europe than NATO--meaning the discussion which for years now has deadlocked the negotiations--is simply a lie. It can only be hoped that this will not happen again when it is too late.

Let us go back to the Olympics once again: We had wished that during these 2 weeks there would have been talk only of sports and naturally also of good spirits of athletes and visitors. That this was not so is not our fault, to be sure. He who is not capable of checking his embarrassingly ridiculous anticommunist feelings must not be surprised that this is acknowledged, and that it is pointed out that this anticommunism of his is not an Olympic exception but a rule of his daily life. There, in the political daily life, this basic foolishness of our era, as a great poet called it, often has much more dangerous consequences.

SINDERMANN CALLS FOR MORE EAST-WEST PARLIAMENTARIAN CONTACT

LD011206 Hamburg DPA in German 0944 GMT Aug 80

[Text] Berlin--GDR People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann has come out in favor of increased contacts between East and West. Sindermann said in the East Berlin weekly HORIZONT on Friday that parliamentarians ought to talk to one another in particular "when the international situation is worsening." Every interruption of the dialogue leads "to a piling up of problems" and brings with it the possibility of tensions. In Sindermann's view the parliamentarians ought to influence their governments to support at the Madrid conference "measures which reduce existing distrust and put trust in the power of reason." Sindermann, who is also a member of the SED Politburo, noted that the GDR was "very seriously" concerned with lessening confrontation and normalizing relations between states with different social systems.

TALKS END WITH GRENADA DELEGATION; PROTOCOL SIGNED

AU051227 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Aug 80 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--The negotiations between government delegations of the GDR and Grenada were concluded in Berlin on 1 August with the signing of a protocol. The Grenada delegation was headed by Bernard Coard, deputy prime minister and minister for finance, trade, industry and planning. The GDR delegation was headed by Horst Soelle, GDR minister of foreign trade.

During his GDR stay, Bernard Coard was received by SED Central Committee Politburo members Erich Mueckenberger, chairman of the SED Central Control Commission; and Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. There were also talks with Dr Klaus Willerding, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and with representatives of the GDR state apparatus and social organizations.

During these talks, the head of the Grenada delegation expounded on the development and the process of deep anti-imperialist transformation in his country.

The GDR representatives explained the peace policy of the GDR and the Warsaw Pact states. They paid tribute to the efforts of the people of Grenada in developing the country and defending their achievements and to Grenada's constructive contribution to the nonalined movement.

The two sides noted agreement in the discussion on fundamental issues of international development.

During the talks which were held in a spirit of friendship, possibilities were discussed for deepening of cooperation between the two countries in the economic, scientific-technical and cultural fields. Significant proposals were submitted for economic cooperation in selected areas. The Grenada government delegation also visited the sights of Dresden and the GDR state border at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin.

CUBAN VICE FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVED IN BERLIN

FL012211 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2130 GMT 1 Aug 80

[Text] Vice Foreign Ministers Jose Viera of Cuba and Bernhard Neugebauer of the German Democratic Republic exchanged views in Berlin today on the forthcoming special UN conference on economic and development issues. They also examined the agenda of the 35th UN General Assembly and described as positive the results of the decade of women's conference held in Copenhagen.

'ARAFAT TELEGRAM PRAISES SOLIDARITY WITH PLO

LD311202 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1105 GMT 31 Jul 80

[Text] Berlin--The chairman of the PLO Exeuctive Committee, Yasir 'Arafat, has praised the solidarity relations between the Palestinian revolution and its GDR friends as "an example and model of fraternal, comradely relations between liberation movements and socialist countries."

"The GDR Solidarity Committee has made a considerable contribution toward deepening and consolidating these fighting relations." This is noted by 'Arafat in a congratulatory telegram to mark the 20th anniversary of the founding of the GDR Solidarity Committee.

SED DELEGATION CONCLUDES VISIT TO ZAMBIA

AU051203 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Aug 80 p 2

[Text] Luanda (ADN dispatch)--At the conclusion of its visit to the Republic of Zambia, the SED delegation headed by Alois Pisnik, SED Central Committee member and member of the GDR State Council, met Reuben Kamanga, Central Committee member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP). The two sides stressed the agreement of the two parties and states in the struggle for the preservation of world peace, for security and detente and in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and Zionism. In a statement issued at the end of the visit, the SED and the UNIP delegations praised the visit as further proof of the bilateral cooperation rapidly developing between the SED and UNIP and between the GDR and the Republic of Zambia.

FRG CITIZEN ARRESTED FOR TRANSIT ABUSE

AU051159 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Aug 80 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Hans-Joerg Engels, an inhabitant of Berlin (West), was arrested on 1 Aug for transit abuse at the GDR border checkpoint of Marienborn. An investigation was started and an arrest warrant issued.

FRG CITIZEN ARRESTED FOR BORDER VIOLATION

AU051010 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Aug 80 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 31 Jul, a male person violated the GDR state border in the Sonneberg area. The border violator was detained. He did not have any identification on him. According to his statement, he is FRG citizen Albert Biller. He was handed over to the competent bodies for an investigation of the details of the border violation and examination of his identity.

BRIEFS

FDJ BRIGADE BACK FROM ANGOLA--The 16 members of the Luanda Friendship Brigade of the FDJ concluded their 1-year assignment in the People's Republic of Angola. For their achievements in repairing trucks and training young Angolan cadres, the "ambassadors in the blue shirts" were awarded honorary diplomas by the Angolan Ministry of Agriculture. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Aug 80 p 2 AU]

POTATO HARVEST REPORT--More than one fourth of the potato crop growing on 20,000 hectares was harvested by 1 August. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 80 p 1 AU]

IMPROVEMENT IN FLOOD SITUATION REPORTED

LD051844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 Aug 80

[Summary] Considerable improvement can be seen in flood areas. In the first few days of August, the area of flooded or inundated farm land has decreased nationally by more than 100,000 hectares. Flood warnings have been cancelled in the Kielce, Opole, Walbrzych, Wroclaw, Rzeszow and Lublin Voivodships. In the voivodships of Plock, Skierniewice, Siedlce and Tarnobrzeg the flood warning remains in force because of the need for watching and strengthening weakened flood walls in the Vistula, Bzura and San. Flood warning is also in force in the voivodships near the lower Vistula and the Notec.

POLITBURO ISSUES INSTRUCTION ON FOOD SUPPLIES

LD051752 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 Aug 80

[Excerpt] At its session today the PZPR Central Committee Politburo heard a government report dealing with market supplies in the second half of this year and plans for domestic commerce for the autumn period. The Politburo stressed that it is vital to make use of all reserves existing within the economy in order to increase the production of goods for the market and to ensure a more continuous supply of goods.

Improvement in the supplies of food to the market depends, especially this year, on the efficient conduct of the harvest, on eliminating the effects of floods in agriculture, and on proper procurement and increased processing of farm products. Appropriate tasks in this respect must be tackled by the farm-food industry institutions, by procurement agencies and commercial outlets. The Politburo issued an instruction on gathering stores of food intended for the market in the winter period; these should be greater than those of last year.

JAGIELSKI, COMMISSION MEMBERS REPORTED IN LUBLIN

WA061000 Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 23 Jul 80 p 1

[Text] Comrade Mieczyslaw Jagielski, member of the Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is chairman of the commission which was formed to look into the demands of the work forces of Lublin City and Lublin Voivodship, and also from the commission, Comrade Zdzislaw Kurowski, member of the Central Committee Secretariat, and Comrade Janusz Kaminski, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Transportation, were in Lublin on 19-20 July 1980. The above-mentioned comrades familiarized themselves with the current situation in the city and voivodship, and also discussed with voivodship authorities the procedures for carrying out the commission's work.

JAGIELSKI RECEIVES GRENADA DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER

LD052058 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 5 Aug 80

[Text] Poland's Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw Jagielski today received the head of the government delegation of Grenada, deputy prime minister, member of the Political Bureau of the ruling Joint Endeavour for Welfare, Education and Liberation Party, B. Coard. The two sides discussed issues of mutual interest, paying special attention to the development of bilateral economic relations. Polish Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade and Shipping R. Strzelecki took part in the talks.

PORTS OF GDANSK, GDYNIA REPORTED 'VERY BUSY'

LD051820 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 5 Aug 80

[Text] The ports of Gdansk and Gdynia were very busy today. There were 56 ships moored at the ports. The "Sokolica" sailed into the northern port with 135,000 tons of oil onboard from the Persian Gulf. In the last 24 hours, 214,000 tons of various kinds of cargo have been loaded or unloaded at the ports.

LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS DISCUSS ECONOMIC ISSUES

LD052056 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 5 Aug 80

[Text] Polish United Workers' Party members at factories and other work establishments throughout the nation hold sessions of their local party organizations this month to discuss the economic issues, assess the implementation of production tasks, analyze the causes of the existing difficulties and setbacks and find ways of overcoming them. The nationwide party debate centres on means of carrying out the tasks aimed to improve economic equilibrium and management efficiency at every work station, in accordance with the decisions of the 8th PUWP Congress and government programmes.

It is pointed up at the meetings that many work establishments lag behind in up-to-date solutions and often achieve output rises through over-employment rather than concentrating on how to reduce production costs. On the overall economic scale this considerably reduces the material production growth rates and projects on the national income.

The discussion also concentrates on issues such as better use of industrial capacity, raw and intermediate materials, work discipline and efficiency, fight against excessive fluctuations of personnel, wastefulness and negligence as well as wider use of waste recycling technologies. With this in mind the party local units discuss their everyday ideological and instructive work to make it play an even greater role in shaping active attitudes especially in favour of rationalization and inventions as well as performance competition.

WRITERS' COMPLAINTS ABOUT CENSORSHIP REPORTED

LD050749 Paris LE FIGARO in French 4 Aug 80 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte Warsaw dispatch: "Poland--Grumbling Among Writers"]

[Text] Increasingly urgent appeals in favor of structural reforms and a degree of democratization can be heard in the Polish press. Following in POLITYKA's footsteps, another weekly magazine--KULTURA--has openly expressed similar views. Pressure for change is also increasing within the party itself. One of the best examples of this is the first bulletin published by the writers' association party cell.

In fact, the first issue of the bulletin begins with an article signed "The Executive" in which you can read, in part: "We are dissatisfied with the political and material conditions of existence of our country's literature. We have expressed our dissatisfaction in the past and will express it in the future." The editorial attacks censorship, and states: "The limits of censorship are debatable, and we will do everything in our power to ensure that they are set, as far as possible, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the constitution." In fact, it is of primary importance to "eliminate the anachronistic and subjective obstacles raised by censorship."

Writer Jerzy Jasionowski also discusses this problem. "Literary work," he writes, "is emasculated according to various censors' arbitrary views. The same text may be rejected in Lodz but accepted in Warsaw. As a result, a petty censorship official can decide what is to become known to posterity and what is to be eliminated. The more timorous he is the worse the situation is."

As for the well-known writer and critic Andrzej Mencwel, he attacks the decision made years ago not to publish a book by Andrzejerski. He also condemns the censorship for forbidding mentions of the names of certain writers who are in the regime's bad books, and the writing of reviews of works published in dissident publications. Such prohibitions, the author asserts, harm not only writers on the black list, but "adversely affect us all by ensuring for us an apparently privileged position which in fact limits our freedom of action."

The party bulletin also severely attacks dissidents, whom it accuses of inverted intellectual Stalinism both by displaying a certain ostracism toward writers who do not publish their work in underground editions, and by producing literary work with a strong political content which is thought here to be almost as simplistic as work published in the Stalin era.

The objective of the writers' association, the party cell concludes, is to cooperate in the formulation of cultural policy. It is necessary to continue to work with this end in mind even though this aim has so far not been achieved. All this means that party members obviously intend to become the spokesmen for all intellectuals with the authorities, and in this way achieve what trade unions, for instance, have been unable to achieve as representatives of the workers. A distinguished writer, a member of the Central Committee, summed up this action as follows: "We have no choice if we want to avoid what happened in Czechoslovakia. If we do not want to see the association taken over by irresponsible revisionists, we must set an example."

DISSIDENT KURON INTERVIEWED ON STRIKES, KOR

DW051103 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 4 Aug 80 pp 98-100

[Interview with Polish regime critic Jacek Kuron, founder-member of the KOR, the "Committee for Social Self-Defense" in Poland, date and place not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Kuron, strikes have taken place in more than 20 Polish state enterprises during the past several weeks. What was at stake in these illegal walkouts?

Kuron: To begin with, the figure 20 is quite an understatement, for according to KOR records (Committee for Social Self-Defense) strikes have occured in 69 plants so far, and no end is in sight. Secondly, the first question ought to be: why so late?

SPIEGEL: Alright, why so late?

Kuron: The standard of living has been going down for quite some time now. Even the government admits this indirectly. There is a shortage of goods and commodities everywhere, and the goods that happen to be available occasionally become more and more expensive.

SPIEGEL: Consequently, it is the chronic supply crisis in basic foodstuffs which has caused the strikes?

Kuron: No alone. Owing to increasing lack of planning and incompetence, a disaster has emerged in the fields of public health, medical supplies, in fact, in all spheres of life. The average pole deems his conditions unbearable.

SPIEGEL: And the government, the state, cannot do anything about it?

Kuron: I do not want to talk here about the question of whether this state leadership actually represents a moral authority. What matters now, concretely, is that no one simply can believe any longer that the state leadership can live up to its task. The leadership has totally failed. We of the opposition have been warning for many, many years that you just cannot demand sacrifices of the people on the one hand, and treat them as incompetent on the other.

SPIEGEL: But what the strikes involved were quite concrete demands for very concrete reasons; for instance, the price rise for meat products.

Kuron: The price hike is not a structural improvement in price policy but quite simply theft; just as the revision of production norms in the field of machine building. In truth, the schedules for all work in industry are being cut down at the expense of the workers involved.

SPIEGEL: And these were the measures that triggered the strikes?

Kuron: Both factors had a signal effect.

SPIEGEL: What appears to us is that the strikes clearly differ from the workers uprisings in 1970 and 1976. Instead of going into the street and mobilizing public ire, the workers now are seeking negotiations with the plant management or the party. Who is doing the stage-directing in the respect?

Kuron: For one, the effect of 4 years of activity of a well-organized opposition is incontestable. We have always said and written that it is necessary to struggle for one's rights in the plants rather than in the street. The Journal ROBOTNIK (THE WORKER) which is widely read in workers circles, has a considerable impact.

SPIEGEL: Do you mean to say that the Polish workers comply with the instructions of the opposition?

Kuron: Surely not only that. From preceding worker struggles the workers have gained experiences, struggles which were highly explosive, bloody and took many human lives -- like in 1956 and 1970.

SPIEGEL: This time the goverament and party waived a demonstration of their power as well. Did they read ROBOTNIK too?

Kuron: The KOR issued an appeal to desist form provoking the state organs in early July, that is, at the beginning of the strike wave. The workers abided by that appeal, but there is still the possibility of quelling the walkouts with force.

SPIEGEL: Do you consider this prudent tactics?

Kuron: It is hard for me to say that this course of action is wise. In that case it would be necessary also to praise those who have stopped eating little children at long last. No, the state leadership is running away because it is being chased. In the event it finds out that it no longer needs to take to flight, it will stop running, too. This is all its wisdom.

SPIEGEL: Still, the Polish leadership has a striking police force in the truest sense of the word, and if need be it has the army.

Kuron: The problem is that the government no longer trusts those who are supposed to quell uprisings if need be. The organs are angry with the leadership, and thus the leadership no longer has the feeling of being safe.

SPIEGEL: Why are the police so irritated?

Kuron: Because they must take the blame for everything, because they feel like a scapegoat between the pressure from the top and the pressure from the bottom. Moreover, these people, who are educated by 'hard hands', see indications of weakness in the yielding attitude of the government. This is a dangerous situation, for if the government in its despair decides to take harsh action after all, this would be tantamount to suicide on both sides.

SPIEGEL: The striking workers demanded better supply of foodstuffs and wage increases of up to 20 percent, and they largely were granted this. Do you deem the demands justified?

Kuron: The problem is that this is a road to nowhere. The spiral of demands and wage hikes keeps turning. In the Ostrow-Wielkopolski railroad repair yards, for example, we initially demanded 3 to 4 percent higher wages, but when the state leadership accepted this without any trouble, the strike committee demanded up to 20 percent.

SPIEGEL: And this seems to be too much to the opposition as well?

Kuron: The money does not have any buying power, it is inflationary money. This, in turn, will only prolong the strike wave.

SPIEGEL: Still, the government formed so-called strike-preventing committees, such as those recently in Wroclaw, in which the trade unions and worker administrative committees are supposed to represent the workers against the plant managements.

Kuron: Surely they are trying to grant the wage hikes in a preventive way, as it were: Wherever strikes must be feared the wages are quickly jacked up.

SPIEGEL: Let us ask once again: Is the opposition against massive wage increases?

Kuron: This method cannot accomplish anything at all, for if you pull at one corner of the blanket to cover yourself, the other end is inevitably uncovered. You can see this best in the case of the food supply. Because the workers in the plants demand more meat, the meat is supplied in the plant mess halls, the result being that it is almost nonexistent in the stores.

SPIEGEL: Do you have specific examples of that?

Kuron: Plenty. Take the worker town of Ostrow-Wielkopolski. In early July a branch plant of the Ursus works went on strike there. The result: an immediate wage increase. Thereupon the labor forces of other plants joined the strike. The workers also demanded an adequate meat supply. They were granted this, too, immeidately and thoroughly. So thoroughly, in fact, that meat could no longer be obtained anywhere in the city. Immediately after that the labor forces of Ursus and other plants went on strike again. They had to do it because their families simply no longer had anything to eat.

SPIEGEL: And did the workers get what they wanted?

Kuron: They are trying now to supply the whole region with meat, with the very meat which is taken away from some other, if possible, remote region. News already reaches us that in Czestochowa, for example, the sale of foodstuffs is being strongly regimented. Thus, a highly critical situation emerges again in another corner of the country.

SPIEGEL: The successful negotiations with the plant management in nearly all cases were conducted by strike committees spontaneously elected, whose composition even changed daily. Has the party not thereby de facto recognized these illegal committees as a representation of interests?

Kuron: Yes, but it had to do this: Wherever such committees formed the party had no way of ignoring them. Naturally the party will try in the long run to eliminate such shop stewards again; just as the party will never stop trying to prevent any kind of opposition which it cannot control.

SPIEGEL: Do you think the party will ban the committees later on?

Kuron: This banning is better done through methods of corruption, discrimination, hidden threats and similar methods. I am telling you about it because I know perfectly well what happened to the Stettin worker commission which emerged after the 1970 strike. A member of the commission was put on trial on charges of alleged rape, another was threatened with the same. A third was killed in a fake suicide. Others were fired by the plant management on threadbare causes. A man looking for housing obtained an apartment only in a different place.

SPIEGEL: This happened under Gierek's party leadership, to be sure. You think he might repeat such KGB methods?

Kuron: This will be much more difficult to do nowadays. The leadership will have to work more with kid gloves. But I do not doubt that they will try.

SPIEGEL: Officially, trade unions exist also in Poland, though everyone knows they are hardly more than the mere conveyor belt of the party's will. In some plants under strike, they openly sided with the plant management. Is the authority of the trade union not undermined by toleration of the strike committees?

Kuron: Since the party has been completely mortified already, the authority of the trade unions surely cannot be undermined anymore. Just today I received a report on a plant meeting in the Ostrov-Wielkopolski railroad repair yard. There the workers simply booed the trade union representatives. When the trade union representatives wanted to talk with the workers in Stalowa Wola, where more than 3,000 people are working, the workers demanded the trade union dues back.

SPIEGEL: Following the strike in Lublin the week before last, the Politburo warned against "arousing the concern of our friends." What is obviously meant is the Soviet Union. Do you, too, see the danger of intervention by the big brother which, after all, is possible indeed?

Kuron: This was a threat, the last verbal argument. But I do harbor the hope that our leadership is not totally stupid.

SPIEGEL: You are not afraid that intervention such as that in Prague will happen?

Kuron: I believe that the Soviets would invade only if it were necessary to remove the ruling forces from power by violence.

SPIEGEL: And how would the people react to that?

Kuron: I hope the Polish people can organize in such a way that the Soviets will not take this step. This can be done only at a moment of explosion. And what will happen then will not be another Prague but a situation like that in Afghanistan. If I may use the comparison, what might happen would be another Budapest as in 1956. But we will do everything to prevent that.

SPIEGEL: So, where will you be going from here in Poland?

Kuron: The decisive problem is this: The strike movement cannot be halted, it will continue, sometimes more, sometimes less intensively. It will definitely grow stronger in the fall.

SPIEGEL: And how can it be prevented?

Kuron: The only solution I can see is to create the chance as soon as possible for allowing the workers to organize of their own free will.

SPIEGEL: But this will change little in the economic crisis.

Kuron: The moment democratically elected trade unions emerge, a qualitatively new situation will ensue, this being a generally valid change since all of us in Poland are workers of a factory. If the workers themselves so decide, the people would be prepared to take upon themselves the necessary sacrifices and restrictions.

SPIEGEL: And the workers who now demand 20 percent more wages even though they know that the state has no money for that, these workers will follow you?

Kuron: The present protest movement is so important because it is the beginning of a new orientation of the workers. This is why I say that in Poland today we are in a different country already. This is the only road toward salvation for our country, a road toward democracy and toward overcoming the crisis at the same time: Only a society organized with free elections is capable of adopting a reasonable program.

SPIEGEL: Will you make it?

Kuron: If we had 1 to 3 years' time I would be sure that we would make it.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY NOTES CORRUPT DEALS WITH WESTERN FIRMS

LD060734 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 6 Aug 80

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZAWY today describes certain wheeling and dealing transactions which ended up with those responsible for them--employees of the oil extraction amalgamation--before a court. The trial has been going on for some months at the voivodship court in Warsaw. The accused are the people who were in charge of purchasing some extremely important cranes--equipment which proved useless on our terrain. Another point of the indictment alleges that the accused received bribes from agents of Western firms in return for pushing through the purchases. The trial shows how it is possible, because of the lack of thriftiness and correct control procedures, or in order to fill one's own pockets, to waste millions in foreign currency and cause enormous losses to our economy. The losses caused by the accused to our economy are still felt today and it is practically impossible to make them good.

LUMEA EXAMINES RECENT NATIONAL AGREEMENTS WITH EEC

AU050955 Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 31, 31 Aug pp 6, 7

[Dr Ilie Serbanescu: "The Commercial Agreements Between Romania and the Common Market"]

[Text] An agreement between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the EEC on trade with industrial products, and an agreement between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the EEC on the establishment of a joint commission were signed in Bucharest a few days ago. The EEC delegation led by Gaston Thorn, current chairman of the EEC council and deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs and foreign trade of Luxembourg, was received by the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

During their talk, both sides expressed complete satisfaction with the cooperation agreements signed between Romania and the EEC, and expressed the conviction that they will activate the development and diversification of cooperation between our country and the EEC and its members, and will contribute to expanding commercial exchanged in our mutual interests and in the interests of the general cause of peace, understanding and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

The EEC delegation, which also comprised Wilhelm Haferkamp, deputy chairman of the EEC commission in charge of foreign relations, had talks with a Romanian governmental delegation led by Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Also, Gaston Thorn met with Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei.

Proceeding from the objective requirement of intensive participation in the international division of labor as one of the basic factor of progress and peace in the contemporary world, Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu consistently promote a police of extensively developing economic relations with all the socialist countries, with developing countries, and with all states in the world, regardless of size, potential, level of development, geographical location or social system, and firmly base these relations on the progressive principles of equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, and efforts to establish a new world economic order which will ensure the development of all countries and a climate of security and understanding in the world.

Our country attaches great importance to expanding economic cooperation in Europe as a factor of progress for all the European nations, and as a direct contribution to detente and security on the continent, as part and parcel of the development of multifaceted economic relations with the European countries. Romania maintains extensive economic relations with the EEC member states, which make up approximately one fifth of Romania's overall foreign trade volume, and continuously strives to expand its exchanges and cooperation with those countries. As is reflected in the ascending course of mutual trade, which increased more than 3.6 times over between 1970 and 1979, Romania believed and still believes that the existence of economic organizations incorporating some of the European countries must be taken into account in developing economic cooperation on the continent. Thus, Romania supports the negotiations between CEMA and EEC, in view of the need to establish relations between these two important European organizations and of the contribution that they can make--by virtue of their function--to solving problems concerning their member states. At the same time, proceeding from the objective existence of the EEC, our country advocated and endeavored to conclude appropriate agreements with it which should deal with the specific aspects of mutual economic cooperation, in accordance with given requirements.

The EEC is an important factor in international commerce, responsible for about one third of world trade. It incorporates an extensive network of economic exchanges through the numerous agreements linking the West European "nucleus" of "the Nine" with the majority of other European states, with scores of developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and with certain socialist states (the SFRY and the PRC have general commercial agreements with the EEC, while Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia have concluded partial agreement with it, applying to certain areas). Hence, the issue of economic relations with the Common Market is of importance for all countries and, in order to continuously develop them, cooperation questions must be dealt with in a spirit of receptivity and consideration for the partners' mutual interests.

At a time of increasing economic interdependence in the world, Romania's agreements with the EEC are calculated to provide the most favorable possible framework for bilateral economic relations and a basis for a normal, continuous and balanced development of economic exchanges between Romania and the EEC member states.

The agreement on trade with industrial products is designed to facilitate the penetration of EEC markets by Romanian-made industrial products, on a nondiscriminatory basis, and to intensify and diversify exchanges on mutually advantageous bases. It succeeds previously concluded agreements in specific fields: the agreement on textiles negotiated under GATT aegis within the "multifibers" accord, and the agreement on metallurgical products, as well as regulations under which the EEC granted Romania certain commercial facilities, regulations belonging to the generalized system of preferences favoring developing countries. The new agreement is essentially based on the principle of reciprocity. At the same time, it comprises commercial concessions accounting for the different levels of development of the sides. Under the agreement, the EEC undertakes to apply liberalization measures to certain Romanian exports (by lowering certain customs barriers) and to limit or eliminate certain quantitative restrictions. Similarly, consultations will be held on the possibility of annual negotiations of additional facilities (particularly concerning raising the ceiling on contingencies). For its part, Romania undertakes to increase and diversify imports from the EEC at a rate not below that of imports from GATT countries in general such increases are predicated on the rates of development envisaged in our country's economic plans and on the expansion of Romania's foreign trade.

The agreement on the establishment of a joint commission provides an institutionalized framework for periodic review of the current stage and prospects of economic relations between the sides, for the adoption of recommendations on any questions concerning mutual economic exchanges, and for continuously promoting such exchanges.

The noteworthy fact is that, at a time when protectionist measures tend to be accentuated--measures which have proved to be false remedies for the current international economic difficulties--the parties to the agreements have succeeded in laying the groundwork for a stable and long-term development of mutual economic relations, proceeding from the need to expand international economic cooperation and to enhance its role in promoting economic progress for all the states.

Similarly, the two agreements concluded between Romania and the EEC constitute a concrete contribution to forging relations of equal cooperation in Europe, free of artificial obstacles and discriminations, a contribution to strengthening friendship and trust among the European countries. Such relations among the European countries--not counterposed to anyone--are at the same time a contribution to the general cause of international cooperation, which is a vital factor of economic development and peace in the world. The agreements between Romania and the EEC are undoubtedly the point of departure in a progressive process toward settling other pending problems as well, within which Romania's condition as a developing country must be taken into consideration, thus applying as appropriately as possible the complete system of liberalizations that the EEC generally grants third countries, and expanding the legal framework to additional areas of economic relations.

The rapid development of Romania's economy, planned to continue over the 1981-85 5-Year Plan period, whose beginning coincides with the enactment of the agreements signed, creates favorable conditions for expanding and diversifying the economic relations between Romania and the EEC member states. However, the realization of those conditions depends on the development of stable, long-term forms of commerce, on the establishment of joint commercial and production associations in various fields, on expanded cooperation in third markets with the EEC countries, and on the achievement of balanced exchanges which should permit even foreign accounts and the highest possible level of economic flow. The favorable prospects opened up by the recent bilateral agreements for economic cooperation between Romania and the EEC must be realized not just as a contribution to promoting economic progress, but also as a direct contribution to detente, security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

CEAUSESCU REPORTS ON PARIS TRIP TO PARTY COMMITTEE

AU021756 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1733 GMT 2 Aug 80

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Aug (AGERPRES)--A meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP took place in Neptun resort on August 2, inst., under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu. During the meeting, Nicolae Ceausescu read an account of the official visit he and Elena Ceausescu paid to France over July 23-26 at the invitation of the president of the French Republic, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, and of Mme Ann-Aymone Giscard d'Destaing. The Executive Political Committee approved and was highly appreciative of the results of that visit which, through its rich balance sheet, went down as a fresh and important moment in the manysided development of the bilateral Romanian-French relations, as an event with deepgoing significance in international life. The Executive Political Committee highlights that the fresh Romanian-French summit dialogue strongly stimulates the further development of the relations between Romania and France.

The Executive Political Committee particularly appreciates the agreements reached with regard to a higher and more efficient capitalization of the possibilities the economic and technical-scientific potential of Romania and of France offers in view of doubling the commercial exchanges between the two countries in the 1980-1985 period, of intensifying cooperation in peak sectors of material production. The Executive Political Committee also considers that the measures regarding the cultural-artistic collaboration opened up most favourable prospects to the cooperation in this domain. The Executive Political Committee points with satisfaction to the fruitful, profoundly constructive character of the exchange of opinions between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Valery Giscard d'Estaing on the strengthening of the Romanian-French relations in the international arena, for the assertion of the policy of detente and peace.

The Executive Political Committee is highly appreciative of Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Valery Giscard d'Estaing's decision to strengthen the cooperation between Romania and France on a world plane for a good preparation of the Madrid meeting so that it should be up to the peoples' expectations, to their wish to live and cooperate in a climate of peace and security. The Executive Political Committee also appreciates the decision of the two countries to actively cooperate, alongside the other peoples, in order to make their contribution to the peaceful settlement of the states of tension and conflict existing in various parts of the world, to the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, to the democratization of international relations, the building of a more just and better world which should guarantee peace, independence and free development of each nation. The Executive Political Committee also solved a series of routine questions of the party and state activity.

NIN REBUTS CUBAN WEEKLY'S CLAIMS ON SFRY WORKERS, CUBAN REFUGEES

AU052047 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1544 3 Aug 80 p 45

[H. Stajner article: "Reactions: Distortion of Facts"]

[Text] The readers of the Cuban weekly, BOHEMIA, will unfortunately not be able to obtain a proper picture either about Cuban or other refugees, even after a long article by V. Robles which occupies two pages, for the article is full of inaccuracies and of attempts to find the causes of the recent mass exodus of tens of thousands of Cubans outside their country.

Anyway, this is their affair, we may say. However, we have read with consternation this article published in the 25 July issue, for the author not only attempted to dispute the moral right of a NIN journalist to write about the Cuban refugee problem, but also resorted to an impermissible distortion of facts.

The misunderstanding with BOHEMIA arises in fact even with the translation of the title of the NIN article "Refugees: An Inexhaustible River of Desperate People," published in the 1 July issue this year. Instead of the term "refugees," the term "emigres" is used. In Spanish, just as in Serbo-Croatian, there are three very precise expressions for the three different categories of people who--for various reasons--leave their homes. For refugees [izbeglica] there is the very precise word "refugiados," for emigres [emigrant] "emigrados," and for emigrants [iseljenik] "emigrantes." It is therefore difficult to believe that NIN's title was wrongly translated by accident.

And since the comrades of BOHEMIA (we shall call them comrades although they address us as "gentlemen") have made this "error" at the very beginning, they immediately also draw a conclusion from it: that the NIN editors may rightly be considered experts on this subject for "Yugoslavia ranks second in Europe in the number of emigres." And to permit no doubt about what sort of emigres are meant, the article reports a 1971 figure (why has a more recent figure not been taken from Yugoslav or some other sources?) to the effect that there were over 700,000 Yugoslav workers in Western Europe.

There is no need to make any special assurances either to Comrade Robles or the other comrades of BOHEMIA that we have never attempted to cover up the facts about the departure of Yugoslavs for temporary work abroad. With all the difficulties which we had and continue to have, we are pleased that the number of workers returning from abroad in the past few years is larger than the number of those leaving our country, which may be checked both in the Yugoslav and international statistical reports.

Many essential differences exist between these workers and their families and, say, the Cuban refugees. We mention only one: the passport. All the Yugoslavs, if they wish, may obtain a passport and may travel whenever and wherever they want. Millions of Yugoslavs are making use of this right, including the workers departing for temporary work abroad. Therefore they certainly cannot be counted among refugees and particularly not among emigres.

Robles' article contains many more improprieties and malicious distortions of facts. For instance, the NIN journalist says in a passage that President Carter has thus been "to a great extent deprived of a trump card, the one about a mass departure of people from Castro's Cuba to a 'free country, always open to all.'" In BOHEMIA's interpretation, this quotation, which was clearly indicated by quotation marks, has been incorporated in a longer quotation from NIN, so that the reader gains the impression that NIN's journalist is the author of the phrase. [paragraph continues]

V. Robles makes use of this several times in his article, so that we are inclined to believe that this, too, has not been an error by accident.

We are prepared to understand the difficulties which the Cuban comrades experience with such a mass flow of refugees [izbeglistvc] from their country. But we do not believe that these difficulties will be at all mitigated if they try, like V. Robles, to identify the problem with the phenomenon of our workers temporarily working abroad, by changing the premises. They are occurences with different causes and even more different effects. There is no need to make a wide search for arguments. The Cuban comrades call their refugees "antisocial elements," "social scum" and whatnot. We are not only pleased with the contribution which our workers temporarily employed abroad make to the building and well-being of the country, but also are proud of their truly exemplary patriotism during their stay abroad.

So much for that. As far as the spite and malicious distortions in V. Robles' article are concerned, they must have other causes which we would not want to enter into here.

BORBA: BTA NEGATES MACEDONIAN CHARACTER OF ILINDEN UPRISING

AU051430 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 80 p 3

[Text] Sofia, 2 Aug (TANJUG)--The 77th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising of the Macedonian people has been recorded in Bulgaria by the BTA news agency. In its news item carried in this connection the agency links the uprising of the Macedonian people with the Preobrazhenie uprising that broke out 17 days later in Eastern Thrace, mainly in the Black Sea region.

By proclaiming the Ilinden uprising of the Macedonian people as "the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie uprising," the agency negates the Macedonian national character of this important event in the history of the Macedonian people and tries to attribute to it a Bulgarian national character.

AIRLINE RESUMES FLIGHTS TO TIRANA 1 AUG

AU052117 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 80 p 14

[S.B. report]

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jul--As of 1 August, JAT [Jugoslavenski Aerotransport] will again fly on the international route Belgrade-Tirana. In the future, DC-9 airlines will fly this route every Monday.

The air traffic between the capitals of the SFRY and Albania has been maintained until now by the Transadria Charter Company of Zagreb, with Metropol Airliners.

DPRK'S HO TAM TO ARRIVE 7 AUG FOR TALKS, VACATION

LD060946 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 6 Aug 80

[Text] Belgrade, 6 August TANJUG--At the invitation of Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, Ho Tam, vice premier and minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will arrive tomorrow for an official and friendly visit to our country.

In addition to holding official talks with his host, it is reported that Ho Tam will spend a short holiday in our country.

MIJATOVIC RECEIVES NEW AMBASSADOR TO ECUADOR

LD051450 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1158 GMT 5 Aug 80

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Aug (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received Bogdan Isovski, hitherto chief of cabinet to a Presidency member and now newly appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Ecuador, before his departure for his new post.

MIJATOVIC CONGRATULATES PRESIDENT OF VANUATU

AU051422 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Coratian 31 Jul 80 p 6

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jul (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent the following telegram to (Ata George Sogomanu), president of the Republic of Vanuatu (New Hebrides):

"It is with satisfaction that on the occasion of the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Vanuatu I send to Your Excellency, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and on my own behalf, most cordial congratulations and best wishes for constant prosperity of the people of the Republic of Vanuatu and for your personal happiness."

VESELINOV REVIEWS MEASURE TAKEN TO ALLEVIATE SUPPLY SHORTAGES

LD051334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 5 Aug 80

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Aug (TANJUG)--At the present moment almost all the necessary conditions exist for the regular supplying of the domestic market with the basic agricultural and food products, Sava Veselinov, secretary of the General Association for Agriculture and the Food Industry of Yugoslavia, has said. The shortages of certain food products can now be objectively eliminated, but this depends primarily on the organizations of associated labor in production and transportation.

Thus, thanks to the recently concluded self-management agreement in the cooking oil industry, virtually all the conditions have been ensured for normal supplies of this food product. First of all, according to the agreement, the factories have undertaken to deliver to the market all the available quantities of oil. At the same time, the industry was willing immediately to take over unprocessed oil from the reserves, process it and send it to the market. It was also decided, according to the agreement, that exports of cooking oil should be put off for better days, when there is enough oil after the sunflower harvest. Factory representatives, when signing the agreement, assessed that this would all make it possible to get more than 20,000 tons of cooking oil per month to the domestic market, whereas hitherto usually about 18,000 tons were sent, which was sufficient.

In the meantime, Sava Veselinov stressed, supplies of glass and other forms of packing are returning to normal, with the result that a more regular supply of cooking oil might be expected. In view of the fact that there is still not sufficient oil in the shops, all the oil producers have gathered together today once again in order to ensure the consistent implementation of the self-management agreement. Those who are not respecting the agreement are expected to suffer the relevant sanctions.

Supplies of sugar should, according to all the circumstances, be regular, as production has been above domestic needs and with the shortages the factories and the reserves, including republican and provincial, intervened. For a short time there were not enough paper bags for the kilo packs, but this has been rectified. If a shortage of sugar does appear somewhere this is largely the oversight of commerce in that area, a point also stressed by the Jugosecer business community.

As for supplies of meat, it should be noted that there is not a sufficient quantity of certain kinds of meat. Pork is in short supply as in the first 6 months the production of pig meat fell by 26,000 tons in comparison with the same period last year. More precisely, this is about 5 or 6 percent down on last year's 6-month production figure. The production of beef is similar to that of last year while that of poultry is greater. Moreoever, the demand in these months has grown as a result of increased tourist demands.

Large quantities are also being delivered to the main tourist centers and those areas which have adopted a decision on compensation, for the slaughterhouses here are getting higher prices for their products. Tomorrow, Veselinov stresses, there will be a meeting to decide whether it is necessary to defer temporarily the exports of certain kinds of meat until the supplies to the home market improve.

The supplies of other agricultural and food products, such as milk and milk products; bread, cakes and biscuits; fruit and vegetables and so on, are similar to or better than last year.

The basic reason for the temporary shortages of certain basic agricultural and food products necessary in the daily diet lies in the fact that the needs are not agreed on in time. In fact, production and transportation are not sufficiently linked. Also balance sheets are too few, a system of product reserves has not been worked out fully in practice and credit for food is expensive, so that sometimes it is as though cosmetics were at issue. The "green plant" which should regulate this is full of solutions in principle which bind no one to implement them consistently. If the situation continues to be tolerated whereby someone needing food announces his needs only when the population demands it, the disruptions will continue to be a regular feature, even though we have all the conditions for being food exporters.

## BRIEFS

KOSOVO COOPERATION WITH LIBYA--A delegation from Kosovo recently visited Libya at the invitation of the secretary for public health in Tripoli. The delegation agreed to establish scientific-technical cooperation between the Province of Kosovo and Libya. Libya is able to employ personnel of all degrees of skills, especially health workers, and the Kosovo delegation set up long-term cooperation on employing our workers there. Agreement was reached on employing 400 medical technician-nurses and 800 unskilled workers to work in the hospital in Tripoli and in Bengazi. Employment will be for 2 years, or longer, if desired by workers. By the end of September a group of 1,200 workers is to leave from our province. [Text] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 80 p 5 WA]

ENVOY MEETS ALGERIAN PREMIER--Abdelghani, Algerian prime minister, received Nedeluko Zoric, SFRY ambassador to Algeria, for discussion of economic cooperation. It was noted that the conclusions of the prime minister's visit to Belgrade at the beginning of 1980 are being implemented. Several contracts have been concluded, including one on joint prospecting for oil, another on road construction and one providing for the delivery of 7,000 Crvena Zastava cars to Algeria. "Agreement has also been reached on Algerian oil deliveries to our country." [Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Jul 80 AU]